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JOURNAL OF
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OVERSEAS

Volume II · Number 3 · July 1963

Editor's Notes

So far this year the *Journal* has featured contributions on local government from South America, Asia, Africa and, in this issue, the Pacific and the Middle East. The publication of a United Nations' study[1] of decentralization for national and local development affords a suitable opportunity to reflect briefly on some distinguishing features of the varied pattern. This study has drawn upon the experience of many countries so that, by identifying the principal forms of decentralization, guidance can be given on how to deal with the main administrative problems likely to be encountered under each.

Despite the diversity of systems and their changing character, four basic patterns[2] emerge to provide a framework of reference, and some examples may be found of each in this and previous issues of the *Journal* this year.

The programme of *panchayati raj*[3] in India demonstrates the 'comprehensive local government system' which has reached various stages of implementation in different states, but is moving towards the creation of tiers of local authorities throughout the country which, instead of central government agencies, will carry out almost all the agricultural, educational and social welfare services that reach the individual. The role of the collector (the Indian 'district officer') is changing fast and Mr. Maddick has suggested that his future should rest with and in the new local government system as its executive officer and supervisor.

The second pattern is that which predominates in English-speaking countries in Africa and is illustrated in this issue by a contribution from Basutoland. Although only recently established, district councils have initiated their own small development projects and carry out routine services, while the central Government also administers services directly through its field units. This 'partnership system' enables either field administration or local authorities to be used according to particular needs, but it contains problems of co-ordination not so apparent in other systems.

Brazil is an example of the third type, the 'dual system' which prevails in South America. Dr. de Mello has referred[4] to the considerable legal and political

[1] "Decentralization for National and Local Development", U.N., 1962; 21s.

[2] Mr. E. L. Sady described these patterns in his article "The Improvement of Local Government and Administration for Development Purposes", *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. I, No. 3, July, 1962, p. 135.

[3] See articles by Mr. Henry Meddick in *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. I, No. 3, October, 1962, p. 201; and Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1963, p. 75.

[4] *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, No. 1, January, 1963, p. 24.

autonomy enjoyed by local authorities, yet their contribution to national development has been insignificant. Although they possess freedom to perform services, administrative flaws and shortcomings and the desire to change the economic structure of the country have resulted in governmental intervention, with central ministries carrying out nearly all the technical services directly and separately from the local authorities.

Two contributions in this issue refer to the French attitude towards local government in Lebanon prior to independence there, and in French Polynesia today. Not unnaturally metropolitan governments project their own administrative systems overseas, and both these parts of the world have reproduced in local settings a centralized departmental organization on the French model. The result is that the district councils in French Polynesia (unlike the two *communes* there) have no power to levy taxation or to dispose of its results, cannot take the initiative in local development schemes and tend to be used for other purposes, such as media for influencing the result of elections to the territorial assembly. Municipalities exist in Lebanon, but elections are long overdue, and in the country the Ministry of the Interior administers services through executive agents in the absence of local authorities. This direct administration of services characterizes the fourth pattern in this classification, the 'integrated administrative system'.

Before the local government enthusiast, influenced by British experience, criticizes the French policy of centralization, it is as well to read the salutary challenge of Dr. Tinker in his review article.[5] He asks whether local government should in fact be encouraged in Africa. He suggests that the main theoretical ingredients of western local government – civic consciousness, spirit of participation and sound relationships between councillors and officials – are scarcely found all together in practice anywhere in the West.

Although many governments accept local, popular control in theory but then shelve measures to advance it[6] in practice, this United Nations' study indicates that the developing countries are increasingly experimenting with how the people may enjoy a greater sense of identification with the government's plans for economic and social development; decentralization is proving a desirable technique for this purpose.

[5] See p. 170.

[6] U Thoung refers to Burmese experience in *J.L.A.O.*, Vol. II, No. 1, January, 1963, p. 27.

The Organization and Content of Training for Public Administration in Africa[1]

by MICHEL ROUGEVIN-BAVILLE,

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THE crucial problem arising in connexion with higher education in the sphere of public administration in Africa is clearly how far it should differ from that provided in the more highly-developed countries. To what extent should the organization and content of such education be modelled on the more highly-developed countries or, on the contrary, assume a specifically African character? This question seems particularly difficult to solve in the special field of the subjects relating to public administration because instruction here is concerned less with the pursuit of cultural objectives than with utilitarian considerations which are, nevertheless, of decisive importance, since the purpose is to train the administrative staff upon whom the life and functioning of the newly independent countries will very largely depend. In other words, it is impossible to be guided by purely ideological preferences or preconceived ideas.

The discussion involves both theoretical and practical questions. On the theoretical plane, many different considerations may come into play, some reflecting the desire of the new States for political independence and their fear of European neo-colonialism, others militating in favour of the maintenance of cultural links with the West, and yet others balancing the need for taking account of existing administrative structures, usually inherited from the former metropolitan power, against the determination to establish an administration better suited to the special problems and characteristics of development and of African rural society.

On the practical plane, attention may be drawn, in support of a policy of assimilation, to the need for speed and for making immediate use of people trained under the educational system of the former metropolitan power and, more particularly, of teachers made available under the various forms of bilateral and multilateral technical assistance, and to the absence, or extreme rarity, of any administrative theory on development; nor should it be forgotten that one can only teach satisfactorily what one knows. In favour of adapting teaching to the special conditions of Africa, reference need be made only to the very different material situation prevailing in that continent with regard to the financing of education, the recruitment of teaching staff, and the standard and prior education of the students, not to mention social and political factors of all kinds. It is the purpose of this article to draw attention to the main data of these problems, dealing respectively with questions bearing upon the organization of the teaching of administrative subjects (university and administrative organization) and with those relating to the possible content of that teaching.

[1] This article is a shortened version of an 'Introductory report on the teaching of administrative subjects and the training of civil servants in Africa', prepared by Mr. Michel Rougevin-Baville at the request of the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It was used as a background paper by the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, held at Tananarive in September, 1962, and permission to reprint it is gratefully acknowledged.

The organization of the teaching of public administration

In view of the general dearth of administrative staff and training facilities in present-day Africa, no study of the organizational structure can be carried out without a preliminary survey of resources and requirements, which will show how essential planning is.

Survey of human resources

In an appraisal of the available resources, the following factors should be taken into consideration:–

(*a*) the standard of primary, secondary and higher education;

(*b*) the actual school attendance rate (sometimes considerably lower than the apparent rate, since many pupils leave school without completing their studies) and consequently the annual number of persons successfully completing their primary education (from whom the lowest-grade clerical civil servants will be recruited), secondary education (from whom will be drawn the junior executive civil servants and the future students of the universities and schools of administration), and higher education;

(*c*) the proportion of these persons who, it is reasonable to assume, can be directed towards the civil service; in this connexion, it will be often necessary to stem any excessive flow of university graduates into the civil service;

(*d*) the geographical factor, which should be taken into account in recruitment, especially in large or multi-ethnic countries, in order to counteract any possible trend towards monopoly, to limit the undue preponderance of any one ethnic group, and also to prevent recruitment too exclusively from urban or coastal areas, which latter consideration presupposes suitable schooling facilities for the rural population.

Survey of requirements and openings

A country's resources must be related to the requirements of its civil service, which may vary considerably according to the degree of development and the existing structures. It is in this respect above all that excessive subservience to European models must be avoided and, in certain instances, an unhesitating break must be made with the legacy of the colonial power. A developing country has no need for an over-specialized administration characterized by elaborate definition of functions and organizational division of responsibilities. The type of administration which meets its needs consists essentially, leaving aside the lowest-grade personnel, of the following:–

(*a*) reliable junior executive civil servants (for clerical, drafting or secretarial work), who need not have a very wide educational background, but must have a thorough knowledge of a number of basic techniques, such as book-keeping, drafting of administrative documents, organization of office work, filing and simple statistics;

(*b*) a comparatively small number of versatile higher-grade public servants, who have a sound political, economic and social training and are capable both of planning work and of taking responsibility. The arch-type of these higher-grade civil servants is the official responsible for a district, be he called local administrator, district officer, or sub-prefect. In the case of the central administrative agencies, a good district officer should, in most cases, make an excellent administrative officer or assistant director;

(c) a certain number of specialists in fundamental techniques, such as scientific agriculturalists, public works officers and public health specialists, whose training raises problems which will not be dealt with here.

When considering outlets, we may find ourselves up against a serious problem arising from the relations between the newly recruited staff and the officials who have been serving since independence. The most senior administrative posts could not be left vacant until such time as the schools and universities could supply their first graduates, but had to be filled, responsibilities being entrusted to subordinate officials or to protégés of politicians, who now show little desire to relinquish them. This situation is liable to give rise to a feeling of frustration among young graduates serving under officials whom they are apt to regard as incompetent because they are not so well trained as themselves. Conversely, serving officials are perturbed by the threat these younger rivals represent and, taking advantage of their seniority, experience and contacts, often try to sabotage the promotion of newly recruited civil servants to positions of responsibility. To reconcile these two tendencies is essentially a political matter, but one which completely governs the establishment of administrative machinery adapted to the country's needs.

Recruitment programme

The comparison of their resources and requirements will enable the African governments to appraise the existing position and, above all, to plan recruitment. The cultural *élites* in Africa will, for a long time yet, remain so small that every effort must be made to ensure that they are used in the best possible way. It will therefore be well to work out a policy for future recruitment, as an integral part of a comprehensive training programme for the nation's leaders as a whole.

Generally such a programme will provide, in the first place, for meeting certain emergency needs, so as to have available, within the shortest possible time, staff capable of keeping the essential administrative machinery running fairly smoothly – hence the need for the planning and organization of intensive training courses, periods of study abroad, and so on. Next will come medium and long-term schemes for the appointment, and later the replacement, of civil servants trained in the normal way.

The execution of this programme presupposes the establishment of appropriate machinery for guidance and selection. A policy of *laisser-faire* is particularly out of place in this respect since in almost all cases the cost of the studies will have to be borne by the community through grants and scholarship schemes of all kinds: the sums thus sacrificed must yield a good return, and nothing could be more disastrous or more demoralizing for the people at large, whose standard of living is still very low, than the existence of a caste of professional intellectuals or permanent students who consider themselves entitled, by reason of their qualifications, to live at the expense of the society.

Description of the organizational framework: centres and institutions for the teaching of public administration

(a) *The university*

The university, where there is one, is obviously the first institution that comes to mind for the training of higher-grade civil servants.

How is administrative training to be provided within the African universi-

ties? We can probably dismiss outright any idea of establishing special faculties of public administration, for it is difficult to see what precise field they would cover; the training of civil servants is in fact based essentially on subjects already being taught in the existing faculties.

Where, as in the French system, a single faculty teaches law, economics and political science, it will have the major part to play in civil servants' training. Where the faculties of law and of political science and economics are separate, the problem becomes more complicated and there is a danger that the training provided by either one of them alone may be incomplete. In either case it will probably be advisable to set up university institutes specializing in political and administrative sciences. These institutes will not necessarily be academically independent or have their own teaching staffs, but by enlisting the services of lecturers in other branches of study (such as literature, history, science and statistics), they will offer students of various faculties additional instruction so as to give them a comprehensive view of the whole field of the social sciences.

For various reasons, however, it is by no means necessary that the universities should have a monopoly in the training of higher-grade civil servants:-

(i) in the first place, not every African country possesses a university, and this will no doubt be the position for a long time to come. Many States, however, are reluctant to leave the training of their civil servants to institutions over which they have no control, and it is interesting to note that those which are prepared to do so often prefer to send them straight to Europe rather than to the university of a neighbouring country;

(ii) generally speaking, the specific object of a university, its traditions and its methods, are wholly directed towards teaching of a high general cultural standard and are ill-suited to the provision of professional and character training, abundantly obvious though their necessity is. The faculties produce graduates; these still have to be turned into professionally competent civil servants;

(iii) university statutes do not seem to have the necessary flexibility, especially as regards conditions of admission. Both during the early emergency programmes for the initial provision of staff and for the continuing requirements of internal promotion within the civil service itself, it will be imperative for administrative courses to be open to candidates who do not fulfil the requisite educational conditions for admission to a university course;

(iv) university teachers inevitably bear the stamp of a training and of interests which are essentially theoretical. It seems, however, to be generally accepted that administration cannot be taught satisfactorily by the university staff alone: the latter can give instruction in the basic subjects or even in administrative science,[2] but the indispensable practical instruction regarding the organization, methods and actual working of the services can be given only by the people who are doing the work, and the structure of a university makes it difficult to recruit the type of teacher required for this purpose.

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[2] On the content and degree of independence of administrative science or sciences, which have been the subject of prolonged controversy, reference should be made to the report on *The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Public Administration*, published in the series *Teaching in the Social Sciences* (Unesco, 1959, pp. 20 *et seq*).

(b) Schools of administration and institutes of public administration

The establishment of schools of administration or institutes of public administration thus appears desirable as a means of providing training and refresher courses for civil servants. Set up at the national level, these schools or institutes will be establishments or corporate bodies under public law, directly responsible to the head of the government or to the minister responsible for the public service. The students, selected either by competitive examination or on the basis of their qualifications, will, wherever possible, rank as trainee civil servants, be guaranteed employment in the public service, and receive a salary during the period of their training; in return, they will be under a statutory obligation to serve the State for a reasonable period on the completion of their studies, in a post assigned to them in the light of the current needs of the administration and not according to their personal preferences.

The establishment of such institutions (which already exist in a large number of African States) makes it possible to remedy most of the disadvantages mentioned in connexion with university education. A school or institute of this type can be set up even in the smaller countries; it will find it easier to recruit teaching staff, especially from among serving public officials and foreign technicians; it will have more flexible conditions of admission; and, finally, it will provide instruction more closely related to the actual conditions of the civil service.

The main drawback would seem to be the risk of lower-quality teaching; not all civil servants or experts make good teachers, nor does every African capital have available the necessary lecturing staff to teach all the aspects of public administration.

(c) Overseas training

The training of civil servants abroad is a practice widely adopted in the African countries and one offering undoubted advantages. The change of environment alone has a remarkable effect in enlarging the trainee's mental horizon and gives him an opportunity of familiarizing himself with the working of a modern civil service and a modern economy.

This system cannot, however, be generally applied, for one thing because it is very expensive, and even more because it entails a certain risk. Unless the training is given by persons with a special knowledge of Africa, the instruction received may not be suited to the particular needs of the society in which the future civil servant is to work; in addition, this solution has certain political implications to which many African governments would be very sensitive. On the other hand, a period of training abroad would provide an excellent complement to the basic training provided locally.

Practical procedure: suggested organization of the teaching

The next point to be considered is how the three kinds of institutions described in the preceding section can be combined or juxtaposed, having regard to their respective advantages and disadvantages. We shall examine, in turn, three types of training: that of the non-specialist higher-grade civil servant, that of the junior executive civil servant, and finally emergency measures and intensive training courses.

(a) Training for higher-grade civil servants

In normal circumstances, there would seem to be two different channels of recruitment for this category of civil servant:–

(i) from among candidates holding university degrees in law or economics or an equivalent qualification (such as M.A. or LL.M.) ;

(ii) from among candidates who, having held posts in the public service for a number of years, have earned promotion.

In addition, except in those countries where secondary schools and universities already supply adequate quotas, it seems essential, during the transitional period, to have recourse to a third channel, by encouraging the direct recruitment of young people who have not had an opportunity to attend a university; these must be given as full a training as possible, but one which is focused entirely on their future administrative functions.

Through these channels, students would come together in a school or institute of administration of the type described in the preceding section, although the three categories of candidates would not all be admitted at the same level:-

(i) graduates of higher educational institutions would take a final or specialized course of training, lasting a maximum of two years, and comprising theoretical studies and practical work;

(ii) civil servants promoted within the service and 'direct entrants' during the transitional period would take a longer course (of about four years' duration), consisting first of theoretical training based on the social sciences, economics and legal studies, and thereafter of specialized and practical training which they would undergo at the same time as the graduates.

The university and the school would thus neither compete nor overlap with one another, for the latter would act as a professional training establishment, turning graduates into civil servants. In addition, the schools and institutes would have special responsibilities with regard to the internal promotion of junior officials within the civil service and would, in certain countries, and as a transitional measure, make good the shortage of graduates by direct recruitment. This latter function should not, however, continue beyond the transitional period, since it is anomalous in itself and liable to result in turning the school into a second-rank university. The longer course should gradually come to be restricted to civil servants, whilst the university and the short finishing courses should increasingly become the only channel of recruitment open to students.

It is, of course, important that the universities and schools should maintain close collaboration in all respects; many university professors and lecturers could teach in the schools, some classes might be the same for the longer training course and for one or other of the faculties, certain premises or services (libraries) could be partly or wholly shared, and the universities should be widely represented on the governing bodies of the schools or institutes (governing board, academic advisory board or board of studies). It does not, however, seem practicable to make the university responsible for the management of the school which, in the opinion of most specialists, should be a public administrative institution, under direct government control and forming part of the country's administrative machinery.

Finally, the last year of the course of specialized and practical studies common both to the short and to the longer training, or the last six months of that year, might usefully be devoted to a period of study abroad; in this connexion, particular interest attaches to the findings of the recent conference of those in charge of the schools of administration of the African and Malagasy Union, held at Cotonou, which provided an opportunuty of drawing up a joint programme and reaching an agreement with the *Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre-*

Mer for the organization, in Paris, of a year's course of supplementary training to be common to all the schools.

(b) Training of junior executive civil servants

The problem of the training of junior executive civil servants seems particularly difficult to solve, because:–

(i) little experience has yet been acquired in this field, as few efforts have so far been made in most of the more highly-developed countries to train this category of civil servant;

(ii) the shortage may prove to be even greater in this category than in the preceding one. On independence, nearly all the existing senior clerical grades were promoted, either to posts of political responsibility or to senior executive and administrative posts; and the number of secondary or intermediate-school pupils from whom this type of civil servant would normally be drawn is liable, for some time to come, to be barely adequate to meet the recruitment needs of the higher grades, through the universities or by direct entrance.

It would seem that the training of lower-grade civil servants might follow three different patterns, which could be utilized concurrently:–

(i) secondary education, and more particularly technical and higher technical education; it would seem advisable to guide a sufficient proportion of primary school-leavers towards technical courses, some of which might provide training for the civil service;

(ii) the universities and schools or institutes of administration could undertake the training of junior civil servants by organizing special courses of the type arranged by the Lovanium University at Leopoldville. Such courses could, moreover, be partly combined with the initial years of the longer training course for higher-grade civil servants; or again, they could be made the responsibility of institutions specially set up for the purpose, such as the *Institut d'Etudes administratives africaines* (premier cycle) – IEAA of the University of Dakar or *the Centre d'Etudes administratives et techniques* at Brazzaville;

(iii) training might be provided for staff already serving with special reference to schemes for the promotion of subordinate officials. Provision might be made for in-service training proper, which could be regularly combined with the preceding system, by the use of such methods as correspondence courses (the courses provided by the IEAA at Dakar, for example, which counts among its pupils a large number of serving officials from all parts of French-speaking Africa).

(c) Emergency solutions and intensive training courses

The disadvantage of the above-mentioned methods is that the civil servants thus trained will not be available until some years after the introduction of the appropriate courses. Means must therefore be found of making immediate use of the available personnel by introducing, at the same time, intensive minimum training courses in all fields. In this connexion, it may be of interest to refer to the experiment now being tried out in the Congo (Leopoldville) for the rapid training of serving officials and, in particular, of subordinate civil servants called upon to occupy, at least temporarily, posts for which they have received no previous training.

These intensive courses have taken, or may take, the most varied forms:–

(i) some are conducted entirely within the service; while continuing to carry out their duties, the civil servants receive essentially practical

professional instruction from foreign technicians, particularly United Nations experts;

(ii) other courses, with more emphasis on theoretical training, are conducted outside the service, such as in the schools or institutes of administration already in existence or specially set up for the purpose: there have, for instance, been courses for the training of assistant administrative officials, diplomats, labour inspectors and customs officers, whilst others have been arranged with a view to providing a minimum general training in administrative matters for higher-grade civil servants in the central government departments.

Such courses may be full-time (the officials being temporarily relieved of their duties) or part-time. Although the former method may seem more efficient from the teaching point of view, it is often necessary, in practice, to make do with the second. In the Congo, the length of the courses varies from a few weeks to six months. The instructors are appointed from among the permanent local experts or those specially recruited from elsewhere on short-term contracts. Finally, the courses may or may not, depending on the circumstances, carry entitlement to immediate appointment or promotion.

Whilst this method must not be expected to work miracles, it nevertheless appears to be the only one by which gaps can be filled and the more or less efficient functioning of the public services ensured until such time as normal recruitment procedures begin to take effect.

The content of the teaching – methods and curriculum

When the possible courses open to Africa are considered, it will be found necessary, for the time being, to make do with a relatively limited adaptation of syllabuses, until it become clear, from the Africans' own experience, what should be taught in ten or twenty years' time.

This matter of specific orientation arises, moreover, in very different forms in relation to teaching methods and to the curriculum. In the former case, the teachers will have, above all, to take into account the needs and deficiencies of the students, where, in the latter, it is primarily the requirements of the employer, that is to say of the public service, which will have to be considered in determining what subjects and questions are to be covered.

Special characteristics of the African student

Anyone who has had anything to do with both European and African students will readily agree that there are considerable differences between them. This is a fact which teachers quickly appreciate, for their reactions are not identical, difficulties do not arise at the same points, and the rate of progress differs. Some of the distinguishing features appear, however, to be accidental or the result of circumstances, whilst others are due to mental habits and processes of reasoning.

The most obvious characteristics resulting from circumstances relate to the knowledge of the Western language in which the teaching is given; it must not be forgotten that this is, for the students, a foreign language, often learnt relatively late in life, and not normally employed in their home or social environment. This accounts for certain difficulties in the handling of its complexities and subtleties, especially in connexion with abstract or technical terms for which there is no equivalent in the vernacular; hence they have some difficulty in expressing themselves, a limited vocabulary, and a certain clumsiness in their written work.

A synthetic rather than analytical habit of mind, a very pronounced taste for words and definitions, and a prodigious memory are among the intellectual characteristics which produce a certain distaste for analytical reasoning: change a word, ask the student to work out an answer for himself, to apply a rule to a hypothesis not considered by the teacher and, where before he gave an admirable exposition of the question dealt with, he now grows uncertain and remains silent. It may likewise prove difficult to bring him to recognize the same fact in its various guises – economic, social, legal, philosophical; in short, to induce him to accept the unity of knowledge, and the essentially concrete nature of the social realities he is studying, behind the abstract concepts and the learned words which he is often inclined to relish for their own sake.

On the other hand, his enthusiasm for work, his excellent memory and his lack of shyness come as a pleasant surprise to a teacher arriving from Europe. The African mind, remarkably nimble as it is, does not, however, always move along the same paths as the European one. And so long as the teacher is not himself African, and what he teaches comes from elsewhere, the student will have to accept the intellectual machinery that goes with that teaching, which he will not always find an easy matter.

General trend of the instruction

The points on which particular stress should be laid may be readily deduced from these characteristics.

The first necessity is to make good the gaps in basic education, such as improving the students' knowledge of the working language used. As regards the other subjects in which the students may have been inadequately grounded by their secondary education, such as history, geography or mathematics, it would seem essential to include them in the curriculum, on the understanding that their teaching must be guided by consideration of the later studies to be undertaken; it is not so much a matter of replacing or supplementing inadequate secondary studies as of imparting to the students a certain basic knowledge which will be of immediate use to them when studying the legal, social and economic sciences.

Having regard to the structural characteristics which we have tried briefly to analyse above, the teaching should as a rule be governed by the following three objectives:–

(*a*) to develop the capacity for discursive reasoning, by a large number of practical exercises which compel the student to reconstruct the argument for himself, or to work out again, from slightly different data, a rule explained in class; in this connexion, exercises in mathematics (especially mathematics as a preliminary to the study of economics, the theory of groups, statistics) or book-keeping will prove very useful; in the legal sciences, emphasis should be laid on case studies and exercises in legal drafting; in the field of administration, on the preparation of various administrative documents, and so on;

(*b*) to combat verbalism and give students a taste for the concrete; in Africa, more than anywhere else, it is imperative that the teacher should never pass on to a new topic without first making sure that not merely the semantic apparatus, but the factual content of what he has just taught has been assimilated; he must ruthlessly strip away the aura of mystery surrounding those grandiose and sonorous terms which encumber the newer sciences and so delight the students, especially when they

apprehend their content only indistinctly, as happens in branches of study which are entirely new to them, such as law, economics or sociology; to this end, the teacher should give large numbers of definitions, examples and concrete instances, linking up the rules and abstract concepts with the political, economic and social facts which the students have constantly before them, pointing out actual cases of interdependence, and avoiding mere verbal comparisons;

(*c*) finally, to impart to the students a technique for the oral and written expression of thought, by laying particular emphasis on the essential requirements of composition: preparation of plans of oral statements and essays on general or special subjects, joint discussions of the proposed plans and of problems of methodology, and so on.

Teaching methods

The actual teaching methods, while taking the fullest possible account of the essential requirements outlined above, will inevitably follow the three main procedures universally applied in higher education: formal lectures, teaching of small groups and practical work. The proportion of formal lectures to the more active methods (teaching of small groups and practical work) will, however, be lower than in Europe, for the precise purpose of making the teaching more concrete.

Work in small groups, whatever be the name given to it (seminar, practical work or tutorial), is of the greatest importance; what is essential is that the contact between the teacher and the students should be as close as possible and that the utmost possible demands should be made on their individual initiative.

The periods of practical work may be of three kinds:–

(i) some are organized abroad, either in various more highly-developed countries or in a foreign institution which, by agreement, regularly carries on the work of the African institution (such as the relationship between the schools of administration of the African and Malagasy Union and the *Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Outre-Mer* in Paris);

(ii) others are organized locally, in government departments or local government offices (district services, law courts, central government departments);

(iii) others, again, are arranged in private concerns, particularly during the holidays (large industrial or commercial firms, plantations).

The usefulness of the practical work depends on a suitable choice of place and of the person to be responsible for the supervision of the trainee; the practical work must, moreover, be an integral part of the course, the trainee remaining in touch with the school and being afterwards required to prepare an academic study (a report or thesis), based on the results of the practical work.

While it is not possible to make any definite recommendations concerning the drawing up of detailed curricula for the teaching of subjects bearing on public administration, it may be of some use to review the main subjects entering into the training of public servants, a distinction being drawn between the basic and the specialized training.

Basic training subjects

(a) Subjects supplementing the secondary education received

This supplementary instruction relates, in the first place, to the working

language (such as English or French); for this, there is no syllabus in the proper sense, but only the methods of teaching of which mention was made above. The time devoted to these exercises will vary; in the Congo (Leopoldville), for instance, at the National School of Law and Administration, they take up as much as four hours a week in the first year. The teaching of a second modern language should likewise be regarded as essential.

(*b*) *The sciences of man*

In this field, particular prominence must be given to the teaching of history; its principal object will be to help students to understand political, economic and social developments since the middle of the eighteenth century to the present day, and to outline the main trends of the history of political doctrines. European events will necessarily take a very large place in the survey, since the great initial impulse which has given the world its present physiognomy came from Europe; as far as possible, however, the mere history of events should be avoided in favour of drawing attention to such phenomena as the emergence of nationalism and socialism in various forms or the Industrial Revolution. An African does not need to know the date of the battle of Sadowa, but will be quite unable to understand the modern world if he has never heard of the rise of co-operative capitalism, the Treaty of Versailles or five-year plans.

Instead of tacking on to such a general history course a few chapters on Africa, looking like poor relations, a better solution seems to be to provide for an entirely separate course on African history which, in view of the scarcity of historical knowledge proper in this field, would be treated mainly from the sociological and anthropological standpoints. It might be merged with the teaching of African anthropology and sociology, which is also an essential feature, provided that it is not focused on any one particular country but rather on the major constants which have conditioned, or are conditioning, the principal ways of life to be observed in the African continent, such as migrations, religious movements and customs.

Lastly, provision should be made for a course on the geography of Africa (or of the tropical countries), dealing esssentially with economic and human geography but also incorporating the main data of the world's economic geography (including the economics of the major world powers and the principal commodities).

(*c*) *Political science*

This is a field in which there is little difference between the teaching dispensed in Paris, London or elsewhere; constitutional history, theory of the State, description of the principal constitutional mechanisms of the more important countries and the methods and main lessons of political science.

Greater emphasis should probably be placed on the concept of the State and the circumstances of its emergence, since this is an idea still largely unfamiliar to Africans and one which they find it more difficult to grasp in practical terms, and on the major political problems of contemporary Africa, such as de-colonization, balkanization, African patterns of power and political doctrines, and problems of political integration.

Constitutional studies proper should cover the institutions of the major world powers – the United States of America and Russia – and those of the former colonial powers (Great Britain, France, Belgium).

(*d*) *Economics*

Considering this subject from the point of view of basic training, and leaving aside economic development,[3] it is essential for a civil servant to be able to understand the significance and functioning of the main institutions and of the basic economic machinery.

(*e*) *Legal sciences*

Reference has already been made to constitutional law in connexion with political science, whilst the study of administrative law, labour law and international law will be taken up as part of the specialized training. The field of what may be called the basic legal sciences is thus arbitrarily restricted, in this context, to private law (civil and mercantile) and criminal law. Many people, impressed by the tremendous economic, technical and administrative needs of the African countries, may tend to regard such legal training as superfluous.

To adopt such an attitude, however, is to underestimate the educational effect of the study of law and to overlook not only the need – as real in Africa as anywhere else – to enforce a minimum rule of law if freedom is to be safeguarded, but also the fact that the manipulation of the instruments of law forms part of the practical, daily duties of a civil servant; nor must it be forgotten that the African civil servant, and particularly the local administrator, will have to deal with a society almost wholly governed by customary law.

Specialized training subjects

(*a*) *Administrative subjects*

These must obviously take pride of place in the instruction provided for prospective senior and junior civil servants in Africa.

The one which comes first to mind is administrative science (or, to employ current terminology, the science of public administration). Although the teaching of this comprehensive discipline may be thought to present certain difficulties in the African context, on the ground that it approaches the subject from too abstract a point of view and may, through the emphasis it places on the strict delimitation of functions and division of responsibilities, prompt the establishment of an administrative organization which places too heavy a burden on young countries suffering from a shortage of qualified staff, it nevertheless remains true that, in the hands of a really skilled teacher, it may provide an invaluable means of drawing knowledge together and stimulating thought, provided always that the specialist teaching it can adapt himself to local needs and make his instruction as practical as possible.

Administrative law will necessarily figure prominently in the curriculum. It may be advisable to focus attention here on problems pertaining to the principle of the rule of law and its enforcement, which latter should be both effective and as simple as possible, avoiding the over-refinements inherited from the long British and French legal tradition. Apart from administrative science and administrative law, attention should be devoted mainly to the well-illustrated description of the principal administrative institutions and major public services, and their activities: personnel management, contracts, work, and so on. Special attention should be paid to the problems of local administration from two standpoints: on the one hand, communities governed by custom, on the other, the modern forms of organization (provinces, areas, districts). Stress should also be laid on the economic public services: planning, State-

[3] The teaching of economic development was dealt with in a separate document submitted to the Tananarive Conference on Higher Education in Africa.

owned undertakings and partly-State, partly-privately financed companies, and organizations for economic or community development.

For instruction in these matters, which is of vital importance and will be followed up in the students' practical work, it would seem necessary to enlist the service of people with practical experience, that is to say of civil servants who have been actively employed in the government service and will therefore be able to focus their teaching on the institutions and administrative machinery actually operating in the country in question.

Finally, there are strong arguments for including some elementary instruction on the professional ethics of the service, since the countries concerned have no long-standing administrative traditions and the traditional environment may tend to foster practices which are incompatible with the smooth functioning of the public services.

(*b*) *Economic and financial subjects*

The object here is to train civil servants who are capable of taking part in economic activities. The main effort should therefore be concentrated on economic policy; problems of planning, control of investments, rural development, foreign trade, credit, and so on. All these subjects will be studied from the point of view of development, which entails the need for an effort to escape from the classic concepts suited only to the more highly-developed economies: the problem of unemployment and economic cycles, for instance, is of less importance in Africa than elsewhere, and the consequences of inflation will often be very different there. Without neglecting theoretical analysis, the teaching should give a large place to administrative and para-administrative organizations and to practical methods of action.

Teaching about public finance will likewise occupy an important place in the training of civil servants. It will naturally include the study of public revenues and expenditure (budget, exchequer, public accounting) and of the financial system, special attention will be given to the question of the supervision of accountants and persons authorized to pass accounts which, incidentally, is particularly difficult in Africa.

(*c*) *Social problems*

Instruction about social problems will include the study of labour law, social security and the administrative organization of the social services. Due prominence should be given to questions of public health, especially in rural areas, to problems relating to the position occupied by young people in the life of society (including education), and to questions bearing upon urbanization and community development. This teaching likewise can be given satisfactorily only by practitioners.

(*d*) *Supplementary legal training*

Leaving aside the specialized training of legal officials, instruction should be given in the essentials of civil procedure and the organization of the courts, since senior administrators will have to preside over customary tribunals, to represent the State in legal proceedings, and to initiate action in certain cases.

Some basic notions of criminal law and procedure are also essential, since certain public servants frequently have to carry out criminal investigations or take action for the maintenance of law and order.

This two-fold training may, incidentally, be incorporated in either the basic or the specialized course.

(*e*) *International relations*

A distinction must be drawn between the training of prospective diplomats,

and the minimum knowledge of international affairs required by all public servants. For the latter, some elementary ideas of international law, with particular emphasis on international organizations (the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies) and regional bodies will be sufficient.

Prospective members of the diplomatic service, on the other hand, will require a much more thorough training, which presupposes the setting-up of a separate section, at any rate for the final stage of studies at a school of administration. The following four subjects, in any case, deserve special attention:–

diplomatic history, an important part of which will deal with the problems of de-colonization and the organization of Africa;
international economic relations;
public and private international law;
diplomatic and consular practice.

General conclusions

From the point of view of both organization and content, the teaching of public administration in Africa seems bound to be profoundly influenced by local circumstances. Curricula will be largely conditioned by the possibilities of recruiting the necessary teaching staff, and these in turn will depend on the nature and extent of the technical assistance available to the country in question. Where it is provided under a multilateral scheme, the teachers will be of various nationalities and will represent different traditions, in which case it will be important and necessary that stress be laid on comparative methods. Where the assistance is supplied by one country alone, the teaching will be homogeneous and focused on clearly defined systems of thought and expression. Schools of administration or institutes of public administration may be either independent of the universities, or associated or even integrated with them; the number of students trained annually may range from 20 to 200, and the schools or institutes may or may not have a monopoly of the training of public officials.

In these circumstances, it is difficult to formulate a common doctrine applicable throughout Africa – nor is this surprising when it is considered that needs and resources are essentially different in each of the countries concerned.

The building up of modern Africa has barely begun. It is as yet too early to invent an entirely new theoretical basis for the teaching of public administration. The process of joint trial and error must continue for many years to come, on the basis of knowledge acquired outside Africa which, cumbrous and ill-suited though it may be, is often all that is available. Gradually by comparing the results of experience, it will become possible to develop better and more appropriate methods and curricula. We must therefore look forward to an unceasing labour of adaptation and improvement, and prepare ourselves for it. The permanent buildings will go up one day; in the meanwhile, under the precarious shelter of temporary buildings which are constantly being altered, those who bear the responsibility of providing for the training of the administrative personnel so urgently needed in Africa will learn to know the uncomfortable but exhilarating life of the pioneer.

The Evolution of Local Government in Lebanon

by KEITH M. HENDERSON and EMILE S. SHIHADEH

FOR those accustomed to Anglo-American political institutions, the term local government is almost a misnomer when applied to district, sub-district, and village administration in the Arab Middle-Eastern country of Lebanon. The Constitution of the Republic does not mention local government. A high degree of centralized authority was thought to ensure more effective control and, therefore, local units were designated as agencies of the Ministry of the Interior rather than autonomous entities. Local government was considered an extension of this central ministry.

In recent years, however, efforts have been made to decentralize and to increase autonomy at the local level. Perhaps a brief review of the historical background of Ottoman and French control will help in placing these efforts in perspective. With this in mind, we shall trace the salient features of administrative control in the various political and geographical subdivisions of the historical Lebanon.

Turkish administrative structure

The four hundred years of Turkish rule of what is now Lebanon and Syria, from 1517 to the First World War, laid the basis of an administrative system which persisted in its essentials to the present day. Three *wilayets* (Damascus, Aleppo and Beirut) were created, based on the pattern of the Mamluk predecessors, and these in turn were subdivided into *sanjaqs*. Although a *wali* (with the honorary title of pasha) governed each *wilayet*, and administrative officers were responsible for the *sanjaqs*, most *de facto* power at the local level resided with feudal lords, who were recognized by the central Government as chieftains in their principalities and who enjoyed various privileges such as a comparatively light tribute. These chieftains exercised virtually absolute authority over their subjects and, at times, even entered into treaties with foreign powers.

The Ottoman administrative structure provided for self-government among the religious communities in the empire in civil matters such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance. This 'millet' system allowed the two primary religious groups in Lebanon, the Maronites and the Druzes, considerable autonomy for many years. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Ottomans, to strengthen their control, exploited the existing dissension between these two groups and with the pretext of restoring the peace, intervened in 1842 to establish an administrative region known as a *qaimmaqamiah* for the Maronite north and another for the Druze south, each to be governed by a *qaimaqam*. The administrative cadre of each *qaimmaqamiah* consisted, in addition to the *qaimaqam*, of a *qaimaqam*-agent, six advisers, two military officials, five civil judges and one religious judge. It is interesting to note that administrative officials were appointed on a sectarian basis – a practice which has continued until the present day.

In 1860, France and Britain intervened in Lebanon and six thousand French soldiers occupied the area. The *qaimmaqamiahs* were abolished and a new statute provided for administration by a non-Lebanese Christian governor (known as the *mutasarrif*) appointed by the Sultan with the approval of France,

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Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria and later Italy. The governor's administrative council was divided among the various religious sects and formed an advisory body responsible for the apportionment of the land tax and administration of revenue collection. Beneath the governor, sub-districts, administered by sub-governors with the assistance of advisory bodies, were established to serve as arms of the central authority.

During this period, the smallest unit of local government was the village, which elected its *sheikh* as a representative of the governor. A high degree of centralization left few real responsibilities for the local administrator and the *sheikh* was primarily concerned with reporting changes in personal status such as births and deaths.

In the last flourish of the Ottoman empire, a constitution was promulgated (1876) which, although it was suspended soon after its application and bore little resemblance to reality, recognized the 'principle of decentralization' and provided for the election of administrative councils at all levels of government.

Local government in the 'mountain' of Lebanon was carried out with few structural or procedural changes between the 1860s-1870s and the First World War. This was a time of relative tranquility and some progress was made in the long-neglected construction of public works in the local areas.

Administration under the French

Greater Lebanon, which included the mountains, the Biqa' valley, and the sea coast, was decreed to exist and given specific boundaries by the San Remo Conference of 1920. In 1922, the Mandate for Lebanon was awarded to France and the administrative, legislative, and judicial procedures of the country were established. With the approval of the 1926 Constitution, the Republic of Lebanon came into being. Under this Constitution, the people elected a legislative body which, in turn, elected the President of the Republic. In the President and his ministers were centred all executive and administrative powers.

In 1925, Greater Lebanon was divided administratively into eleven *muhafazahs* and these were sub-divided into thirty-four *nahiyas*. It was not until 1930 that the present administrative organization of five *muhafazahs*, each governed by a *muhafiz*, was established. With the exception of the *muhafazah* of Beirut, the *muhafazahs* were divided into eighteen *qadas* (later increased to twenty-four), each of which was headed by a *qaimaqam*. The *qaimaqam* served primarily as a medium through which instructions received from the central Ministry of the Interior, in Beirut, were passed to the *mukhtars* responsible for village administration. The *mukhtar* remains the smallest executive agent of central government and usually receives his position on an honorary basis because he is the head of the most influencial family in the community.

During the period of French control (1920-1943), as might be expected, the administrative system in Lebanon closely paralleled that of France. In order to provide close supervision of administrative actions and to delimit initiative at all levels of government, special informational and tutelary services, known as the *services speciaux* were introduced. These services made a substantial impact and even after they were abolished the restriction of administrative discretion continued.

Transition to independence

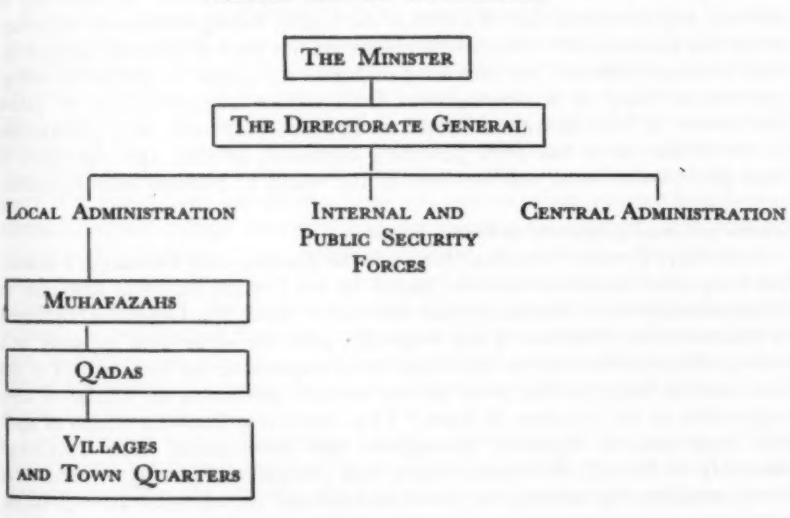
The transition to independence, beginning in 1943, brought few substantial changes in local government. Administration retained the Ottoman and French

characteristics exemplified by sectarianism, upward reference of matters requiring decision, concentration of government offices in the capital city of Beirut, and cumbersome administrative machinery lubricated only by the time-honoured custom of paying *bakhshish* to minor officials.

As can be seen from the organization chart, local units are still appendages of the Ministry of the Interior. Attempts at decentralization of decision-making powers have been unsuccessful and, although municipalities are in existence, they are closly circumscribed in their activities and enjoy little real autonomy. At the time of writing – March, 1963 – the long-awaited ministerial decree fixing the date for municipal elections has not received parliamentary ratification.

It should be apparent that the concept of local government in Lebanon is quite different from that in countries with a tradition of autonomy at the local level.

ORGANIZATION FOR LOCAL ADMINISTRATION



Local Government in French Polynesia and American Samoa

by F. J. West

All colonial practice is 'assimilationist' in the sense that a colonial power expects some at least of its metropolitan values and attitudes to be accepted by the governed. The British, for example, expect to create in colonies (and leave behind them when colonial rule comes to an end) a government of a recognizable parliamentary type, based on British conventions. But the French and the Americans are 'assimilationist' in a rather more precise sense. Both powers have tried to reproduce in their colonies precise metropolitan institutions. There are, of course, differences of tradition and motive between France and the United States, there are differences in their colonial practice, but there is a broad contrast between them and Great Britain.[1] It is, moreover, a contrast which gives 'local government' a different meaning and emphasis. Because French practice has reproduced metropolitan departmental organization in colonies, and American that of a state of the Union, local government has meant rather the government of the whole colony than a part of colonial administration; local government has been used rather as a contrast to central or federal government than as a development from native administration or native authorities. In both American Samoa and French Polynesia, local government in the British sense has been generally neglected, so that any discussion of local government must take account of the whole of colonial administration.

Central and local government in French Polynesia

Since 1957 French Polynesia,[2] formerly the *Etablissements Francais de l'Océanie*, has been ruled under the *loi-cadre* passed by the French National Assembly in Paris primarily with the great African colonies in mind. The Governor continued to represent the President of the Republic, with the same dual capacity as a metropolitan prefect: on the one hand he is responsible for local affairs to the local elected body, on the other he has tutelary powers as an official of state responsible to the ministry in Paris.[3] This distinction between affairs of state and local ones is repeated throughout the government. The Territorial Assembly of French Polynesia, which was reorganized in 1957,[4] consists of thirty members representing the two communes and the administrative divisions, elected by proportional representation and the method of *scrutin de liste*, having the power to order territorial affairs and approve the local budget for which it must raise revenue by taxation. While the Governor can exercise a veto over

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[1] For an extended discussion of these differences in the South Pacific, and for a detailed account of colonial government and administration of French Polynesia and American Samoa, see F. J. West, *Political Advancement in the South Pacific*, Oxford University Press, 1961.

[2] French Polynesia consists of a number of island groups, of which Tahiti is the most important, spread over 2 million square miles of the South Pacific Ocean. Their land area is 1,544 square miles; their population in 1956, 73,201.

[3] B. Chapman, *Introduction to French Local Government*, London, 1953, describes the metropolitan office of prefect, pp. 63-79.

[4] *Journal Officiel de la Polynésie Francaise*, 1957, pp. 443-446.

assembly resolutions, if he considers this to be in the general interest or for good administration, by report to the Minister for Colonies in Paris, the grounds for annulment are excess of the assembly's power or violation of the law. Resolutions of the assembly are put into effect by the Governor's order, but from 1957 he has had the equivalent of a cabinet to advise him. The Council of Government which was then set up consists of six members having the title of minister, sitting under one of their number who is styled Vice President of the Council of Government, the Governor being *ex officio* president.

The ministers are elected by the assembly to which they must account for the decisions they take, and they are also responsible for the local service departments (by delegation from the Governor), which are assigned to them individually. Thus by 1957 French Polynesia had a constitution under which an elected local assembly has real power in local affairs and the equivalent of a cabinet to superintend the local administration, while the whole arrangement imposes the closest co-operation upon the Governor. The *loi-cadre* was a liberal reform which was a considerable step towards responsible government, but because it was still modelled upon a metropolitan *départmente* it excluded or overshadowed, with one exception, any other forms of local government in the colony.

Before the French annexation and the subsequent Organic Decree of 1885,[5] the colony had indeed a nominal form of local government in the British sense. The *Etablissements Francais de l'Océanie* were divided into the traditional Tahitian districts under their chiefs, but whereas in 1852 an electoral system was proposed to replace the former method of selection by consultation with chiefly families, in 1877 the administrative functions of the chief and council were transferred to the *gendarmerie*. Since 1897 the district councils have been composed of five members, including a president and an *adjoint*, elected by universal suffrage, unpaid except for certain of the president's expenses, and charged simply with publishing the Governor's orders, the upkeep of buildings and roads, yearly amendments to the census and electoral lists, and certain minor supervisory duties.[6] The district councils have no power to take the initiative in local policy, although they may propose local improvements to the administration, and they are used not as representative or consultative bodies, but as official instruments for exercising a loose supervision over very limited and local aspects of administration.

The exception to this insignificant local government is the *communes*. Since 1890 Papeete has been a *commune* under a mayor and fourteen councillors who have power, under the tutelage of the Governor, to execute sales, approve leases, make decisions on municipal works, organize a police force, and arrange the port facilities;[7] to finance these works the council has had its own budget and since 1953 power to levy small taxes for local purposes. In 1945 a second *commune* was created for Uturoa. These two urban settlements represent the only significant local government in French Polynesia, but they also strengthen the tendency towards centralization, for the mayor and councillors often tend to see themselves as a pressure group in relation to the Territorial Assembly, and they are frequently themselves members of it, their political offices overshadowing their local government capacity.

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[5] French Polynesia was annexed piecemeal; the Marquesas Islands in 1842, Tahiti (which became a protectorate in the same year) in 1880.

[6] *Journal Officiel des Etablissements Francais de l'Océanie*, 1897, p. 363.

[7] *Ibid*, 1890, p. 499.

Central and local government in American Samoa

In American Samoa[8] there is the same development of the central government of the colony and the relative neglect of local government, although with one major difference. The old Polynesian system of rank and authority of the traditional chiefs and leaders was crumbling away in French Polynesia under missionary impact even before the French administration chose to ignore it, but in American Samoa, because of its history from 1900 to 1951 as a naval base (which led the government to interfere as little as possible with Samoan custom so long as the station operated efficiently), traditional Samoan authority survives. The chief, the *ali'i*, and the talking chief or orator, the *tulafele*, still retain much of their old prestige and authority, and the American government has had to incorporate them into both its central and local institutions.

The Governor who represents the President of the United States is advised by two houses of legislature.[9] The Senate, formerly composed of certain high chiefly title holders named by law in the Code of American Samoa, has been elected since 1952. Under the constitution set up in 1960, it consists of fifteen members, one from each of the counties representing the old Samoan political districts, elected for four years by Samoan custom by the county councils composed of the chiefs and talking chiefs of those districts.[10] The House of Representatives contains twenty-four members elected on a population basis by universal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of two years. This legislature has law-making power in matters of local application, but the Governor has the right of veto subject to a bill's being re-passed by a two-thirds majority and then approved by the United States Secretary of the Interior.[11] Nor may the legislature alter the budget as presented by the Department of the Interior to the Congress of the United States except for certain re-allocations, and if it passes any legislation involving expenditure other than contained in this budget, it must also pass revenue measures to provide the funds. The power of the legislature in American Samoa is somewhat less than that of the assembly in French Polynesia, largely because its control over the budget and taxation is less, but it is also divorced by the American doctrine of the separation of powers from the executive. The administrative services, although staffed by Samoans, are usually headed by an American official with the notable exception of the Department of Samoan Affairs, the local government organization.[12]

As in French Polynesia, local government in the British sense has a long history in American Samoa,[13] but it has been neglected in favour of central political development. The Samoan Affairs Office is directed by a secretary responsible to the Governor and nowadays appointed from the ranks of the leading chiefs. For the administrative purposes of this office the colony is divided into three districts each under a district governor appointed by the Governor from among the highest ranking title holders, and further divided into fourteen

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[8] American Samoa consists of the six eastern islands of the Samoa group, divided from the larger islands of Western Samoa (formerly a New Zealand Trust Territory) by the 171st meridian. Their total area is 76 square miles, their population in 1956, 20,154.

[9] *Constitution of American Samoa*, Article II, Section 1.

[10] *Ibid*, Article II, Section 4.

[11] *Ibid*, Section 9.

[12] The Secretary of Samoan Affairs is provided for in the *Constitution*, Article IV, Section 4, as head of the department of local government within the executive branch and he is responsible for the proper administration of district, county and village affairs.

[13] The organization of districts, counties and villages under their chiefs and councils was provided for in the first *Code of American Samoa*, Sections 61-72, promulgated in 1917, which ratified earlier practice. It remains substantially unaltered.

counties under county chiefs similarly selected. The smallest administrative unit is the village under the *pulenu'u*, the head of a family holding a chiefly or *matai* title. Each of these officials is assisted by a council composed of the other leading chiefs and orators and family heads of the district, county or village. These chiefs and their councils are generally responsible for the welfare and good order, the cleanliness and sanitation, of their areas, but their powers are limited in the same way that the Tahitian ones are; in effect to supervision of minor matters. There is, however, within the Samoan Affairs Office, a local government council set up in 1956 and comprising the district governors and county chiefs, which is intended to assume the role of a policy-making body to advise the Governor in executive but not legislative matters, for this formal structure of local government in American Samoa is part of the executive branch;[14] its district governors and county chiefs are debarred by law from sitting in the legislature, and it is dependent for its revenue upon money assigned to it since it has no power to raise money itself.

For this is the crucial point which reduces local government organization to a minor place in government in both French Polynesia and American Samoa: in neither territory have the local councils the power to levy taxation and to dispose of its results. There is thus no real sense in which these local government organizations can either determine local affairs or discuss local issues responsibly. In both colonies the central political structure overshadows them. In French Polynesia no able or ambitious man devotes his attention to the office of district president or councillor. In American Samoa, local government positions, either as a district governor, county chief or a councillor, depend upon traditional rank and Samoan custom, and any leadership in a modern sense is thus made very difficult within the framework of local government, tending to be divorced from it by the separation of powers and diverted into the legislature or, more usually, abroad to Hawaii or the United States.

Electoral arrangements in French Polynesia

Obviously French and American colonial practice differs from British in the place it assigns to local government, and it is illegitimate to judge their performance by a British standard. As Lord Hailey once said in another context, the efficacy of any administration must be judged not merely in relation to the part it bears in the machinery of government, but in the light of the purpose it is intended to serve in political development. British local government in colonies is intended to secure 'development from below'; French and American institutions imply 'development from above'; but if any direct comparison cannot fairly be drawn because of differences of purposes and function, there is an indirect comparison because either kind of practice can be judged by the question: have these institutions of government been accepted by the governed as representative of them, as the natural and normal channels of political or administrative aspiration, or the symbols of the unity of society? Perhaps the most obvious way in which an answer can be framed for French Polynesia and American Samoa is in terms of elections: how far and in what way do the governed participate in the representative government provided?

The major distinction between these two colonies – that the French has long since lost its traditional system of rank and authority while the American has retained it – makes one part of the answer easy. The Senate of American Samoa, being elected by Samoan custom by the traditional leaders of the old

[14] West, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

political districts, obviously *is* representative of the Samoans, although there is a growing number which does not live under the *matai* system,[15] and the mixed feelings of other Samoans may eventually lead to the traditional leadership becoming unrepresentative. In American Samoa, therefore, the question of acceptance is more properly addressed to the House of Representatives, elected by universal suffrage and secret ballot in the same way that the Territorial Assembly of French Polynesia is elected. Granted the general resemblance between French and American approaches to colonial government, how do they work in an 'untraditional' and a 'traditional' society?

On the surface, in French Polynesia, elections have a distinctly European appearance. At least two parties and usually more have campaigned for votes with a list of candidates, using radio, press, pamphlets and election meetings as their technique. There has been widespread political interest, reflected in the numbers of candidates – in 1953, for example, there were seventy-four standing for twenty-five seats[16] and in the poll which has usually been between 70 per cent. and 80 per cent. of the enrolled voters with no compulsion to cast a ballot. Less precisely measurable indications of political enthusiasm can be found in the complaint, current in Tahiti among old residents both predominantly European and predominantly Tahitian, that there is too much politics. Yet beneath the outward appearance the reality is more complicated. The right wing party – once the *Union pour la Défense des Intérêts de l'Océanie* and now represented by two schismatic branches of the *Union Tahitienne* – is a recognizably European one, composed mostly of business and professional men from Papeete.[17] The left wing party, the *Rassemblement Démocratique des Populations Tahitiennes* also has an urban element of trade unionists,[18] but the major part of its following is in the Tahitian countryside,[19] and the former leader, Pouvanaa a Oopa, looked more like the head of a cargo cult than a political leader in a European sense.[20] To the biblical cast of his Tahitian oratory – for he spoke poor French – he added a Messianic style and the promise of goods and a day of judgment. With his imprisonment in 1958 the R.D.P.T. has lost some of the electoral appeal that generated political enthusiasm in the districts.

In the absence of a charismatic leader like Pouvanaa, the members of the assembly, even those of his own party, have tended to be classed as part of the apparatus of government which the majority of Tahitian country-dwellers view with distrust to the point of incomprehension. Elections in French Polynesia reveal that there is a gulf between town and countryside of much the same order as that which exists between French city-dwellers, trade unionists and commercial men and French peasants, and that in the village of French Polynesia there may be found the survivals of Polynesian custom which produce political motivations of a distinctly non-European character. 'Development from above' in French Polynesia implies visionary leadership of Pouvanaa's kind if the

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[15] A group composed mostly, but not exclusively, of part-Samoans living close to the town of Pago Pago, the administrative capital of the islands, who were until 1954 given special representation in the House; thereafter they have shared a common electoral roll.

[16] *Journal Officiel des Etablissements Francais de l'Océanie*, 1953, *Avis Officiels, Résultats des élections pour l'Assemblée Territoriale*, 9th February.

[17] See Patrick O'Reilly and Taoul Teissier, *Tahitiens: Répertoire bio-bibliographique de la Polynésie Francaise Société des Océanistes*, Paris, (1962) under the names of party members like R. Bambridge, A. Poroi, G. Coppenrath, M. Tixier, F. Vanizette.

[18] Led by J. B. Céran-Jérusalemy, *ibid.*, under Céran.

[19] See Appendix I.

[20] Reilly and Teissier, *op. cit.*, under Pouvanaa.

political institutions are to be fully accepted by the governed in the countryside as well as by the urbanized population.

Whatever the non-European characteristics of elections to the Territorial Assembly, there is a sufficiently wide appreciation that this political process is the effective means of political development, and this awareness has its effects in district councils. The electoral process for president and councillors offers an opportunity to either political party, but especially to the R.D.P.T. which draws its strength from the districts, to use this moribund local government organization as a means of influence upon voters at assembly elections. Even with the limited powers of supervision and limitation of prestige, a district president and his councillors may be used to influence electors, to present party programmes and to serve something of the same purpose in village and district life that the mayor and councillors of the communes do in the urban areas. One of the effects of 'development from above' in French Polynesia may very well be to breathe life of a kind into local government organization, not indeed a formal vitality as a constitutional matter but an informal one as the agency of party politics.

Electoral arrangements in American Samoa

The strength of central political institutions in French Polynesia is that they are unchallenged by any rival traditional system of authority, and that their influence in the districts may offset the competition which often, but not always, exists between the president and district council and the real local power in a village which is represented by the pastor of the Tahitian church. In American Samoa the situation is reversed: elections to the House of Representatives are rather determined by the politics of country and village. As in French Polynesia, there is great enthusiasm for politics. In 1958 there were sixty-three candidates for seventeen seats, and 84 per cent. of those enrolled on the electoral list voted.[21] But there the resemblance with French Polynesia ends. The candidates were not put up by organized parties; they were candidates of family groups. In one county with 516 voters there were seven candidates, and the winner gained less than 25 per cent. of the votes cast. In another village of 365 voters, six candidates stood, the winner obtaining 23 per cent. of all the votes cast. In yet a third with 516 voters the successful candidate gained less than 23 per cent. The elected members almost invariably represented a minority, in effect the largest family or kinship group within the county. Elections have also had a Samoan flavour in that membership of the House has been competed for as yet another political title to be added to the family prestige, while the campaign has also been conducted by the chiefs and talking chiefs along traditional lines. House elections have been fitted into the pattern of customary politics and the general result has been to strengthen the position of the *matai*, who have realized the possibilities of using the electoral system for personal and family prestige. The House of Representatives, so far from allowing non-traditional leaders to emerge,[22] has provided *matai*, who by reason of their lower ranking titles could not hope for the office of district governor, county chief or member of the Senate, with an opening for political activity. In so doing, it has preserved harmony

[21] See Appendix II.

[22] At the first election to the House of Representatives by secret ballot and universal suffrage in 1953, twelve of eighteen representatives were not holders of *matai* titles, but this result was an aberration. In the subsequent election of 1954 only seven previous members were returned and they were title holders. Since that date, non-*matai* have seldom been elected.

within the branches of government by eliminating the rivalry which might have come from a non-*matai* House.

By contrast with French Polynesia, universal suffrage for an elected assembly in American Samoa has not provided the leadership which might revitalize local government organization. The strength of Samoan custom has to the contrary asserted the local government's control over the legislature. For even without much formal power, the strength of the executive branch represented by the Samoan Affairs Office has dominated the legislature by virtue of Samoan custom. The higher ranking title holders are the executive officers;[23] the slightly less important ones are in the Senate, and the lower ones in the House. Not only does this prejudice the standing of the House in Samoan eyes (including its own) in relation to the Senate, but it puts the whole legislature in a traditionally inferior position to the executive, to the local government organization, a situation of which both branches are aware. The separation of powers in American Samoa has also meant their imbalance.

No doubt this situation will change as more Samoans opt to live in or near the town of Pago Pago (still officially a village) and outside the *matai* system, and perhaps as some Samoans in the villages come to desire change themselves, but this can happen only slowly; many educated Samoans leave for Hawaii and the United States and do not return, thus removing a solvent of traditional society. That these political institutions, and especially the House of Representatives, imply the disappearance of the *matai* system if they are to work in a recognizable European way, was frankly stated by the Miles Committee of the United States Congress in 1949; the *matai* system, it said, was "undemocratic and inconsistent with American principles" and it went on to conclude that the system "will fall of its own accord, as the people become more exposed to American ways".

Conclusion

This belief, that the traditional system of authority should vanish, is common to both the Americans and the French in Polynesia, but the latter gained a colony in the 19th century in which the system had already crumbled, while the Americans gained one at the turn of the century in which it was vigorous and resilient. Neither situation was primarily the result of official action by either power; it was the product of all kinds of circumstances in which the unofficial element of traders and missionaries was decisive. But this difference is crucial to a policy of development from above. In French Polynesia, metropolitan political institutions have been accepted by a substantial number of Tahitians, and although they do not work exactly as their counterparts in France, Polynesian custom itself is nowadays an amalgam of European and Tahitian attitudes. In American Samoa, metropolitan political institutions have also been accepted by the governed, but as yet in almost wholly Samoan terms; and there is no powerful minority in the islands to dissolve the traditional bonds as they were destroyed in French Polynesia. For acceptance of political institutions, where local or central, is not only measured by the participation of the governed

[23] For example in 1956 there were four high title holders in the Senate whose predecessors had signed on behalf of Samoa the agreements or deeds of cession by which the islands became American, but all of the district governors and nearly half of the county chiefs held titles whose earlier holders had signed. Similarly of the title holders who sat by law in the House of *Ali'i*, predecessor of the Senate (named in the Code of American Samoa, Section 76, as revised in 1948), only four were in the Senate in 1955-56, and the rest of the eleven were district governors or county chiefs.

but by their adopting some at least of the modern values and attitudes implied by them. Government must not only be representative but modern.

APPENDIX I

Some electoral statistics for French Polynesia

1. Territorial Assembly Election, 1953*

Electoral district.	*Enrolled voters.*	*Ballots cast.*	*Winning percentage of votes and No. of candidates.*		
Windward Isles:					
Papeete Town	4,814	2,887	52 for	U.D.O.	Average
Tahiti West	2,602	1,934	66 „	R.D.P.T.	
Tahiti East	1,850	1,387	60 „	R.D.P.T.	
Presqu'ile Taravao	1,191	1,003	68 „	R.D.P.T.	(2)
Moorea-Maio	1,342	1,095	60 „	R.D.P.T.	(3)
Makatea	468	329	77 „	R.D.P.T.	(4)
Leeward Isles:					
Tahaa	1,173	939	56 „	R.D.P.T.	(3)
Raiatea	1,128	773	70 „	R.D.P.T.	(4)
Commune of Uturoa ...	394	308	57 „	Independent	(4)
Huahine	1,028	723	53 „	R.D.P.T.	(5)
Bora-Bora-Maupiti	888	812	50 „	R.D.P.T.	(2)
Marquesas Isles:					
North	651	424	45 „	Independent	(6)
South	513	369	74 „	R.D.P.T.	(2)
Austral Isles:					
Rurutu-Rimatara	703	539	76 „	R.D.P.T.	(3)
Tubuai, Raivavae, Rapa ...	761	621	77 „	R.D.P.T.	(3)
Tuamotu Archipelago:					
Gambier-Tuamotu	736	575	40 „	R.D.P.T.	(3)
Tuamotu West	988	795	77 „	R.D.P.T.	(3)
Tuamotu Centre	827	579	52 „	R.D.P.T.	(2)
Tuamotu East	1,064	823	47 „	R.D.P.T.	(3)
	23,121	18,446			

* *Note:* By the method of *scrutin de liste majoritaire* in Papeete, and Tahiti West and East, and by simple majority elsewhere.

2. TERRITORIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1957*

Electoral District.	*Enrolled voters.*	*Ballots cast.*	*Winning percentage of votes and No. of lists.*
Windward Isles:	16,442	11,862	44 for R.D.P.T. (6) (38 Union Tahitienne)
(including –			
Moorea-Raiao	1,620	1,357	56 for R.D.P.T.
Makatea)	728	460	58 „ R.D.P.T.
Leeward Isles:	5,212	4,306	52 „ R.D.P.T. (5)
(including –			
Tahaa	1,389	1,185	52 „ R.D.P.T.
Raiatea	1,789	1,424	43 „ R.D.P.T.
Bora-Bora-Maupiti ...	913	786	43 „ R.D.P.T.
Huahine)	1,051	911	71 „ R.D.P.T.
Marquesas Isles:	1,415	1,203	36 „ R.D.P.T. (6)
Austral Isles:	1,572	1,277	66 „ R.D.P.T. (5)
(including –			
Rurutu-Rimatara ...	658	533	64 „ R.D.P.T.
Tubuai-Raivavae-Rapa)	914	744	67 „ R.D.P.T.
Tuamotu-Gambier:	4,026	3,202	37 .. R.D.P.T. (5)

* *Note:* Proportional representation and *scrutin de liste* were used.
Note: The strength of the R.D.P.T. is clearly shown to lie in the Windward Islands outside the town of Papeete, in the Australs, in the Southern Marquesas, and to a lesser extent in the Leeward Islands; it is least in the Tuamotu Archipelago with the exception of the western islands.

APPENDIX II

Some electoral statistics for American Samoa

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION, 1958*

Electoral district.	*Enrolled voters.*	*Ballots cast.*	*Winning percentage of votes and No. of candidates.*
Alataua 1	266	203	41 (4)
Alataua 2	365	324	23 (6)
Vaifanua	550	439	23 (6)
Sa'ole	293	240	79 (3)
Tualatai	229	160	42 (3)
Leasina	136	104	57 (2)
Sua	516	462	22 (7)
Ma'uputasi 1	854	693	44 (3)
Ma'uputasi 2	333	291	61 (2)
Ma'uputasi 3	421	350	36 (3)
Tualauta	445	340	55 (2)
Itu'au	604	490	55 (2)
Fitiuta	206	160	45 (4)
Faleasao	132	121	76 (2)
Ofu	251	206	32 (7)
Tau	264	244	31 (4)
Olosega and Sili	170	150	40 (3)

* *Note:* By simple majority.

Africanization and Job Analysis in Tanganyika

by F. J. GLYNN

TANGANYIKA's peaceful transition from a trust territory, administered by Great Britain under the United Nations Charter, through the stages of internal self-government to full independence entered a new phase when, on 9th December, 1962, this new nation became a republic within the British Commonwealth. Among the many problems facing Tanganyika at this time is the need to change the pattern of its Civil Service from the colonial type established by the British administration authorities to one of a local character. The new service must be capable of efficiently administering the territory, and of contributing effectively to the new Government's dynamic policy for the rapid development of the territorial economy. An immediate aim was the Africanization of the service which traditionally had been staffed in the higher executive, technical, and administrative grades by expatriate officers, usually recruited from Britain by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Steps towards Africanization

An analysis of the distribution of personal emoluments in the Tanganyika Civil Service in 1961-62 revealed that the total estimated cost of some 4,000 officers serving in the senior grades was £3,666,000. The estimated cost of the rest of the service (about 33,000 officers) was £4,272,000. This disproportionate distribution between wage rates for indigenous officers as opposed to expatriates was due mainly to the fact that African staff occupied clerical, artisan, semi-skilled and unskilled posts, and were recruited against an adequate supply of labour in these grades. On the other hand the salary scales paid to expatriates had to compare favourably with world market rates for the special skills and knowledge required (medical officers, engineers, chemists, administrators, and so on): the personal emoluments for this category include substantial inducement elements which are still paid by the British Government.

The Tanganyika Salaries Commission of 1961[1] commented on the disproportionate distribution of highly qualified and highly paid personnel, observing that the service structure was unbalanced. The Commission concluded that the qualifications set for appointments in some senior grades were unrealistic in Tanganyikan terms and proposed an investigation of staff complements in each ministry to achieve substantial savings:–

(*a*) by a reduction in the number of senior grade posts;
(*b*) by the replacement of some professional and administrative posts with technical and executive class appointments;
(*c*) by the actual downgrading of a number of posts.

These views were subsequently endorsed by a committee appointed to review civil service staff complements in April, 1962 which, *inter alia*, made specific recommendations covering the grades of posts in which economies could be effected.[2] The problem then was two-fold:–

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[1] Report of the Tanganyika Salaries Commission, 1961 – Mr. A. L. Adu.
[2] Report of the Tanganyika Grading Committee, 1962 – Sir Philip Rogers, C.B.E.

(*a*) to Africanize the Civil Service so as to achieve a staffing pattern truly reflecting the racial pattern of the Territory;

(*b*) to reorganize the pattern of the Service through staff development techniques, and the complements and gradings within the service, so as to produce a more balanced expenditure in personal emoluments.

In terms of Africanization the Government's policy was clearly defined by Dr. J. K. Nyerere (then Prime Minister) when he addressed the Legislative Council in October, 1960, as follows:–

"First, it will remain the policy of the Government that every vacancy arising in the Civil Service should, if possible, be filled by an appointment made locally, and that recourse should only be had to recruitment from outside East Africa if no suitable candidate (of any race) can be found locally, that is our first principle.

"Secondly, within this policy, in the case of new appointments to the Service, it is Government's intention that African candidates of Tanganyika should have prior claim to consideration.

"Thirdly, only if no suitable, qualified Tanganyikan African candidate is available should other candidates be considered."

Anticipating the needs for Africanization as a logical step towards self-government, the British administering authority had long recognized the desirability of increasing the numbers of local people in the higher ranks of the service. To this end it initiated improved local educational facilities, and encouraged the development of in-service training programmes within ministries. A five year plan for African education was begun in 1957 with the object of providing greater opportunities for more pupils to climb higher up the educational ladder.[3] In 1959 the service training programme was broadened to include local pre-service courses, local in-service courses, and also provided for the training of local officers for higher posts through:–

(i) courses in East Africa at Government-supported institutions for higher technical education;

(ii) courses overseas, under the Government Bursary Scheme;

(iii) intra-departmental training in the newly created training-grade post in which officers of local origin could be trained to fill specific senior grade posts.

As part of a more dynamic approach to the Territory's problems, the Government invited Mr. J. L. Thurston, a Ford Foundation expert in the fields of manpower and training, to examine local conditions; his report on Human Resources and Manpower Planning in Tanganyika provided the first analytical study of the nation's manpower requirements, and contained specific recommendations on the development of Tanganyika's human resources.[4] Referring to the Civil Service, Mr. Thurston assumed that:–

(*a*) pressures from Members of Parliament, private organizations and individuals will tend to accelerate rather than retard Government's plans for Africanization;

(*b*) a minimum of one third of all expatriate officers will have left Government service (under the retirement scheme arranged between the British and Tanganyikan Governments for expatriate officers) by the end of 1962.

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[3] United Nations Report on Tanganyika, 1960.

[4] Human Resources and Manpower Planning in Tanganyika – J. L. Thurston, Ford Foundation.

These and other assumptions in the report proved correct and the situation thus created rendered more urgent the need for trained and efficient African staff.

The principal conclusions reached from a manpower planning standpoint by Mr. Thurston may be summarized as follows:–

(*a*) because of scarcity of Africans eligible for senior posts, large numbers of the present expatriate officers will be needed for at least eight years, and in addition many new officers, especially in the field of education, will be required;

(*b*) it will be necessary to add a new dimension to the job of all supervisors – African or expatriate, senior clerks or permanent secretaries – and that is positive responsibility for planned, organized job-training;

(*c*) the Government will need to provide at a high organizational level outstanding professional leadership for an expanded training effort; and

(*d*) maximum efforts will be needed to adjust job entrance standards and job content to facilitate the entrance of new Africans into the Civil Service.

In so far as certain of these aspects already formed elements of the Government's policy or plans, Thurston urged a greatly expanded effort with respect to training and related matters. Particularly, since it was abundantly clear that the major source of manpower needed for the next few years would be inexperienced and generally under-educated. More specifically, the report emphasized the need for developing more realistic job entrance requirements and adjusting job content as much as possible to the level of the labour supply, namely:–

> "The related problem of adjusting job content needs to be faced forthrightly and carefully. Many jobs in the public service have become complex and geared to the abilities of highly educated and well trained persons. It is clearly possible in theory to make two or even three more jobs out of any one job thus utilizing less well trained persons. Whether with respect to a particular job it is desirable to make two or three jobs of one is of course another question, the answer to which should be reached by careful thought and analysis of all the factors, including the economic. The answer should not be reached by an emotional judgement that job breakdown means lower standards. It does not. It often means higher overall performance. Nor should the answer be reached by untrained persons, especially those who are close to the job in question".

The programme of job analysis

The Government accepted Thurston's concept of a combined attack on the Africanization and manpower problems, utilizing the techniques of job analysis and modern intensive training methods. By mid-1962 a central training unit, staffed by experts in job analysis and training, had been established within the Prime Minister's office under the direction of the Staff Development Adviser to the Tanganyika Government. The job analyst team included three experts recruited in America through the Ford Foundation, one from the United Kingdom appointed by the British Department of Technical Co-operation, and the Staff Inspector seconded from the Establishment Division of the Prime Minister's Office. On the training side, experts from the Department of Technical Co-operation, including a senior training co-ordinator, completed the team.

This then was the start of a formalized programme of job analysis linked to a positive training policy based on actual job requirements (what it needs to get

the job done as opposed to hypothetical questions of possible job commitments). A further aim was the creation of a more balanced service through the establishment of a rational structural pyramid providing for consistent, easily recognized, job grades in the schemes of service for the different cadres of the Civil Service.

Problems of staffing were evident on all sides. Frequently these were aggravated by the need to create new establishments to meet the requirements of reorganized ministerial portfolios, and for specialized posts necessary to the performance of certain aspects of the nation's development plans. Against this background the problems were where to start and, in view of the varied experience of team members and the absence of any formalized grading standards, on what to base the analysis. Following discussions between the Staff Development Adviser and the Principal Secretary (Establishments Division), it was decided that the team's first target should be the review of principal and assistant secretary posts in all ministries; key positions on which depend the successful conduct of Government business.

Special consideration had to be given to the divergence of practice between American and British systems of analysis, which had to be reconciled. The former, based on classification principles, techniques and procedures established under the Federal Classification Plan for the U.S. Civil Service, had to be modified in recognition of the ranking in the 'man' concept (as opposed to ranking in the 'grade'), which is more typical of the classification system applicable to administrative posts in the British Civil Service. However, an eight-point factor system was eventually agreed upon which proved common to United States and British experience. It was further agreed that the emphasis of the analytical effort should aim at producing data for job classification, organization planning, training programme development and methods improvement as basic steps in furthering Government's Africanization programme.

The team's first assignment involving a detailed examination of the wide range of functions executed by some 69 key administrative posts provided the team with an excellent overall view of the principal Government activities. In reviewing the controls over, and supervision exercised by, these posts they obtained knowledge of the ministerial system which proved invaluable to those team members gaining their first experience of Tanganyika. The completion of this assignment in November, 1962, provided a consolidated report on the exact and agreed schedules of duties, levels of responsibility, supervisory and functional activities of all principal and assistant secretaries for the first time since the adoption of the ministerial system in Tanganyika. The report provided an analysis of the skills and knowledge necessary to the efficient execution of the duties ascribed to such posts and included agreed organizational charts showing functional and staff relationships as they existed, and optimum organization and staff grading based on actual job requirements as determined in the analysis. In the hands of the Staff Development Adviser, the Principal Secretary (Establishments) and the Senior Training Co-ordinator, this report affords:-

(*a*) bench marks against which ministerial demands for increased establishments may be evaluated;

(*b*) details of the work load and responsibilities of the existing administrative cadre against which to determine the administrative complement within ministries re-organized or newly-established, following the counry's recent adoption of a republican constitution;

(*c*) accurate and informative data from which to frame future training programmes necessary to the Africanization of these administrative posts.

These then are the first positive results following the adoption of job analysis in the Tanganyika Civil Service. The first training course for assistant secretaries was started in December, 1962, under the auspices of the training wing of the central training unit. As a result of the collection, through job analysis, of detailed information about what needs to be taught, the training programme, in trying to teach the actual skills and knowledge required, should be more realistic.

This is only a start. Much remains to be done, particularly in, for example, accounting, establishments work, and the technical and executive activities down to the clerical, artisan and semi-skilled grades. Until recently Africanization progressed at the following rates in respect of senior posts:–[5]

1956	...	...	112
1957	...	...	115
1958	...	...	181
1959	...	...	306
1960	...	...	453

At the end of 1960 the number of Africans employed in the Civil Service was 68 per cent. of the whole, mainly in skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled grades.

Whilst these figures in themselves present a picture of the trend towards the fulfilment of Government's Africanization policy, it has been suggested that the increase in some fields has been achieved at the expense of efficiency. This emphasizes the need for more positive, scientifically controlled methods, particularly in respect of senior grade posts, in deciding the rate at which further Africanization may progress. In this way job analysis linked to intensive training techniques may make its most effective contribution. In the longer term, as the team's experience and the range of its enquiries extend, the aim is the creation of job classification standards on which to establish a service-wide grading system, in place of the existing *ad hoc* or position/position comparison system. Finally, the system so devised should, in accordance with universally accepted practice in job classification, also establish the principal of equal pay for work of equal difficulty and responsibility. This, it is hoped, will become a permanent feature of the new Tanganyika Civil Service.

[5] Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on Tanganyika, 1960.

The Introduction of Local Government to Basutoland

by P. Hughes

Official reports describe Basutoland as an enclave within the Republic of South Africa, with a total area of 11,716 square miles, a quarter of which is lowland and foothill country varying from 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level, while the rest is highland and mountainous, running up to 11,000 feet. The soil is shallow and grass cover is easily eroded.

The people are in general typical mountain people, shrewd, difficult to convince, and essentially legalistic, but hardy and cheerful, with a national character peculiarly their own. Their history as a nation dates from 1818 when Moshesh, a minor chief of the Bakoena tribe, gathered together the remnants of tribes and clans scattered by Zulu and Matabele raids. There is a strong chieftainship structure, developed in the tribal wars following the rise of the Zulu power. While perhaps not as strong and enlightened as it could be, it is still a considerable force in the country, and one which, properly guided, has many years of useful life.

So much for the background. A hill people, welded together in wars and troubles, virile and shrewd, living in a hard country with snow and frost in the winter and heat, dust and torrential but sporadic rain in the summer.

The launching of local government

In 1910, an advisory body known as the Basutoland National Council was constituted by proclamation. In 1959, a new Constitution was devised to come into effect in April, 1960. It provided for a one-chamber legislative council with 40 elected and 40 nominated and *ex-officio* members. The Constitution also provided for district councils in each of the nine administrative districts, each council to be a body corporate, with powers defined, not by warrant as is the usual practice, but by Schedules to the Local Government Proclamation. In addition to their powers and duties as local authorities, the councils were constituted electoral colleges to the National Council. General elections were based on adult male suffrage, by which 162 elected members were sent to the district councils, of whom 40 went on to the Legislative Council. In addition to the elected members, the 22 principal and ward chiefs were also *ex-officio* district councillors and national councillors. There was thus created what was, in effect, a single tier system of local government. The law made provision for 'subordinate' councils on the lines of parish councils, but the legal requirements and handicaps proved so stultifying that no progress in this direction has been made. There is no provision for town councils and proposals to rectify this are under consideration.

Councils inherited the functions of the Basuto National Treasury, a type of tribal treasury which had been brought into being in 1946. The new Constitution made it necessary, before local government could function, to dissolve this, divide its powers and duties (and assets) and apportion them to the proper quarters.

Preparatory work began in April, 1959 – a year before the formal launching of local government. In retrospect, this was not nearly long enough. Staff had

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to be selected and trained, regulations of all types had to be framed, a department had to be set up, and legislation introduced establishing the councils and also defining departmental functions. The physical difficulties alone involved in housing the department once it had been agreed to, and also in housing the district councils, were formidable.

During the preparatory year, it was possible to provide some of the framework for district councils – standing orders, procedural rules, new books of account and accounting regulations, sets of estimates on which councils would begin to function, and a highly complicated 'movement order' governing the closing down of the National Treasury on one day and the opening of district councils the next. Some 80 officers from the National Treasury had to be moved to their new stations, together with a stiffening of a further 32 officers seconded from central government.

In addition to the closure of the Basuto National Treasury, it was decided that district commissioners' revenue offices would also transfer their functions to the new organization. Sizeable staffs were required, each council being provided with an executive secretary, an accountant and between 8 and 15 clerks, depending on the size of the district. Field staffs, tax collectors, grazing control, soil conservation and bridle path foremen and supervisors made up the rest. The question of how to provide councils with funds to pay the staff, let alone carry out any further duties, became acute, exaggerated as it was by a refusal on the part of councillors to consider any additional taxes or rates.

Revenue of councils

Councils had inherited a rate of 1s. per taxpayer. Although this provided a possible basis for a simple form of rating in the future, councils needed very much more. Their duties were the upkeep of bridle paths, the maintenance of soil conservation works, grazing control, the relief of destitutes and various minor tasks. They also had to pay their office staffs and allowances for councillors.

A number of different approaches to the problem were made, but there was no rating or valuation system, while the districts with the smallest populations frequently had the largest and most difficult areas to administer. Anything based on population operated in favour of the big battalions, while anything based on area did the reverse, so that some form of loading became inevitable. In the event the final solution, which seemed to be the only possible one, would have been the despair of any orthodox local government practitioner.

Working backwards, it became apparent that revenue to the tune of between four and five shillings per taxpayer was necessary to meet commitments. This would have to be accompanied by a deficit grant to the poorer councils. When translating this into an assignment of central government revenue, a formula had to be worked out giving the maximum incentive to councils for efficient collections together with the maximum economy and reduction of 'red tape'. The final result gave councils 25 per cent. of the basic tax of 34s. per head, 100 per cent. of the graded tax which was a simple form of tax on wealth (but which had, in fact, been virtually allowed to lapse), the revenue from licences and a number of miscellaneous fees. Deficit grants were awarded to two councils on the simple basis of making up their revenues to the determined minimum.

Reviewing this somewhat arbitrary and rule of thumb approach, it is hard to see what else could have been done. Councils were given a basic revenue, they had the power to increase that revenue by a rating system, and it was up to them to see that the money on which their lifeblood depended was properly

collected. Like all makeshift solutions it had its drawbacks. For example, by granting councils a proportion of basic tax it was hoped to provide the incentive towards efficiency. But tax collection in Basutoland is a complex business relying on the co-operation of the chieftainship and also on a Basutoland Government organization in the Republic known colloquially as the Johannesburg Agency. Any shortfall in Agency collections was immediately reflected in councils' revenues, a factor over which they had no control. Similarly the graded tax law was defective, based as it was on the now defunct Basuto National Treasury, and it was largely unenforceable. Due to the pre-occupation of the legislature with other urgent matters, it was not possible to present an amending Bill until 2½ years later.

Relations between councils and chiefs

Difficulties and snags came in thick and fast once councils began to operate. The first was that all councils were composed of members who had, in most cases, stood for election hoping that they would go on to the Legislative Council. The normal type of parish pump councillor, interested only in the welfare of his district, was markedly absent. The amendment of the electoral college system and the removal of local government from politics are desirable but will take some time to come into effect.

The method of granting powers by schedules to the proclamation and not by warrant also caused confusion. In their first flush of enthusiasm many councils, construing local government as total independence from control, attempted to exercise all their powers without delay and without any period of digestion. This meant that the powers presently resting in the hands of the chieftainship were threatened, and the chiefs, who had hitherto regarded councils with a benevolent eye, began to become hostile, and certainly non-co-operative.

This problem of the chieftainship is still acute after three years, but its origins cannot be said to date from the inception of local government. In 1938 the Basuto Courts Proclamation took away from the chiefs what had been their principal source of livelihood and prestige, namely the power to try cases and keep the fines. This process of attrition was followed up ten years later by the formation of the Basuto National Treasury which among other things now made inroads into a further perquisite, the sale and disposal of stray stock. Selection boards, an increasingly high standard required of court presidents and the general complexity of modern living left the chiefs with their traditional positions and duties of land allocation, grazing control, maintenance of law and order and so on, but little if any money to carry on. Finally the new Constitution made the commoners responsible for a large degree of local administration. In certain circumstances the chiefs found that things were happening in their own areas of which they knew little or nothing, and they were being given orders and untraditional requests by bodies of commoners. Friction was inevitable.

In the more extreme districts little or no attempt was made by councils to deal with the problem in a sympathetic way, and it was commonly said that the district councils were now the chiefs. This led to non-co-operation in a variety of fields, from tax collection to the allocation of lands, from passive resistance in any council project to a refusal to accept council employees in specific areas. Fortunately the friction remained verbal; it is being resolved in the more moderate districts by closer consultation and, on occasion, payment for services rendered.

All this could have been avoided had it been recognized that the chieftainship was still, in spite of the setbacks it had received, a very live force. The constitution-makers, in framing the Local Government Proclamation, could have welded the chiefs into a far closer relationship to councils, and instead of giving those bodies ill-defined and overlapping powers, could have been more precise. It is easy to be wise after the event, but had there been more time many of the current difficulties could have been lessened. The danger exists that with the present pace of development a chieftainship sulking in its tents is destroying itself, while it will take some years before the councils enjoy public confidence to the extent that they can take its place.

Some functions of councils

District councils are now active and virile elements of the body politic. Teeming with ideas, they reject unanimously any suggestion that taxes should be increased, as this would mean political unpopularity and loss of votes. Despite every attempt to bring it to the fence, it became clear that that particular horse would not jump, and some other form of popular escape became necessary if they were not to become frustrated and stultified. This took the form of local development projects, assisted by the Local Government Loan Fund, set up with the support of the banks and with the backing of the Secretary of State. Loans were granted through a board for any project that was revenue-producing or expenditure-saving, and up to the present, cover a wide field.

One council is carrying out a mechanized farming scheme with much local support and reasonable success; and others are concentrating on the improvement of village water supplies, towards which the villagers pay a water rate or assist with voluntary contributions. Tourism is a matter of great interest, and councils are erecting rest huts throughout their districts, while one more ambitious district is constructing a hotel for lease. There is no doubt that had councils remained stagnant, performing the dull and unspectacular routine duties of road and bridle path maintenance, sanitation and revenue collection, they would very soon have withered away and died through sheer boredom. As it is, they have a close interest in their development projects, which not only mean votes but also give them the feeling of doing something for the nation. Where councils have enlisted the aid of the chieftainship in carrying out their schemes, co-operation has been cordial and, it is to be hoped, lasting. On the other hand there is a classic example of non-co-operation where a council decided to build a track and started to do so, while the chief, who disagreed with the council in detail but agreed with the idea in principle, proceeded with local labour to construct a parallel road some two miles away.

The role of the Department of Local Government

It will be asked what was the Department of Local Government doing in all this turmoil? The Local Government Proclamation created a Commissioner (now Permanent Secretary) whose only powers were those of supervision and advice. Any major decisions and requests by councils had to be approved by the High Commissioner in Council, that is the High Commissioner acting on the advice of the Executive Council. Thus apart from financial inspections, carried out by teams of departmental inspectors at frequent intervals, training courses, and attempts at mediation in the more extreme cases, there was little that could be done directly. On many occasions during the past years there was a nostalgic longing for the powers of direct administration, but now that things

are settling down it is clear that the principle of non-interference is being rewarded. In the beginning the Department, and in particular the Commissioner, were viewed with great distrust, but the situation has changed radically and it is now generally appreciated that the Department exists to help councils, and that given a reasonable case to fight, the interests of the councils will be pressed to the logical conclusion.

The future

Throughout the whole of this turbulent story, with snag after snag rearing its head to be dealt with by *ad hoc* measures, the time factor was a vital consideration. If only – famous last words in British administration – if only there had been a five-year period of preparation and training, matters would have gone smoothly. Had it been possible to train both chiefs and councillors in the meaning of local government, had it been possible to build up a cadre of trained men to keep the wheels turning, had the department had time to produce a complete set of by-laws, things would have gone smoothly. Nevertheless, progress is being achieved. Training is going on. With the aid of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, a mobile training unit travels the districts encouraging the growth of women's clubs, of self-help in general and the ideals of local government in particular. A departmental team of instructors visits all districts and carries out in-service training, while ten-day courses in public administration, carried out with the assistance of the Pius XII University College, take place five times a year, putting ninety chiefs and councillors a year through the basic principles. Overseas training courses for the more senior officers are beginning to create the nucleus of trained men so badly needed.

All this is oil to the wheels, and in another two years there is every reason to hope that the machine will get into top gear. In the lower gears it has been a bit noisy and slow, but it has made substantial progress.

The creation of a unified council service, free from nepotism and political pressure, is another difficulty; for the politicians, particularly the untrained politicians, there are many attractions in the patronage system, while the richer councils naturally wish to pay more and attract better quality men. In the absence of a national association to represent the interests of the officers, it has fallen on the Department to perform this function. Negotiations with all councils are in progress and a draft set of local service orders has been prepared. This is one of the most important of the remaining problems.

The place of the district commissioner in local government is defined in the law as the channel between the council and central government. He also has a legal duty to keep himself fully informed of the affairs of his district in relation to the local government administration, and to further the development of the system by giving advice and assistance when necessary. From the beginning, councils have regarded district commissioners with distrust, and while this feeling is clearly a political attitude, it has nevertheless made things extremely difficult. A policy of non-interference is beginning to show results, and councils are in a number of cases turning to the district commissioners for advice and help. It cannot honestly be said, however, that there is complete accord in this sphere. The ambition of councils, following the pattern elsewhere in Africa, is to supplant the district administration in due course – an ambition which is undoubtedly reasonable, and which will come closer to achievement as independence draws near.

A number of councils are appreciating the need to enlist the chieftainship as an ally, and with time and goodwill this conflict will also be resolved.

Much has been done, but naturally more remains to be done. As a training ground the new institution is proving invaluable, both for staff and councillors. The need to 'get on with the job' is becoming generally realized. 1960 and 1961 were years of turmoil and difficulty, 1962 has been a year of consolidation and education, and the way is at least clear for substantial progress. The future is reasonably bright and councils, given support and backing, have every chance of building the basic foundation of good government.

Kenya Constitution—I

REGIONS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A WHITE PAPER[1] was presented to the British Parliament in March summarizing the proposed Kenya Constitution[2] for internal self-government. It contains the following summary of proposals for regions and for local government which will interest our readers:–

Regions

Kenya will be divided into the Nairobi area and seven regions, the boundaries of which will be specified in the Constitution.

Any boundary between one region and another may be amended by a decision by a two-thirds majority of the two regional assemblies concerned and a simple majority of each House of the Central Legislature.

Notwithstanding the above, within six months from the coming into force of the new Constitution, any boundary between one region and another may be amended by a decision by a simple majority of the two regional assemblies concerned, provided that the area transferred, together with any other areas which may have been previously transferred, does not comprise more than 5 per cent. of the population of the region from which it is being withdrawn.

Each region will have a regional assembly consisting of elected members and specially elected members. The elected members will be elected by constituencies on the basis that each district within a region shall return the same number of members to the regional assembly. The specially elected members will be elected on the same principles as the specially elected members of the House of Representatives and on the basis of one specially elected member for each eight constituency elected members.

Each regional assembly will have a president, elected by its members from among persons who are members or are qualified to be members. A person shall not be elected president unless he is supported by the votes of two-thirds of the votes of the regional assembly.

A regional assembly will have power to make laws in respect of those matters which are expressly specified in the Constitution, either as being within the exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the region or as being within the concurrent jurisdiction of both the central legislature and the regional assemblies. The central legislature will not be able to divest itself of its legislative power in favour of a regional assembly.

The executive authority of each region will be vested in the regional assembly which will act through a number of committees. A regional assembly will not be able to delegate its executive functions to the central Government and it will be required so to exercise its own executive authority as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the central Government and to ensure compliance with central government legislation.

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[1] Cmnd 1970; H.M.S.O., London, 1963; 1s.

[2] See Statutory Instruments No. 791 East Africa, the Kenya Order in Council 1963, H.M.S.O., 1963; 11s. 6d.

Local Governmnet

The whole of Kenya must be comprised within the area of some local government authority, of which there will be two basic upper tiers, municipalities and county councils, and four types of lower tier; urban councils and township authorities and, in the rural areas, area councils and local councils. Provision is made for the election of councillors and aldermen, and for the appointment and nomination of councillors both by other local authorities and by regional assemblies or other bodies, so as to ensure adequate representation of, for example, the central Government and the East African Common Services Organization or any of its services.

Local government is a matter exclusively reserved to regional assemblies, but the procedure for establishing new local authorities or varying existing local authorities is included in Chapter V, which also specifically deals with the temporary replacement of a local authority by a commission when a local authority is in financial difficulties or is failing to exercise its functions properly.

The Nairobi area, which will be the direct responsibility of the central legislature, will be a municipality administered by the City Council of Nairobi. There will, however, be a standing committee of the Senate, upon which each region will be represented, which will advise generally in connection with the administration of the Nairobi area.

Provision is to be made for a regional fund for each region and for taxes, royalties and fees which may specifically be imposed or levied by regional assemblies or local authorities, the central Government and the central legislature retaining the residual power to raise taxes.

Kenya Constitution—II

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PATTERN OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES[1]

The present pattern

The Kenya public authorities at internal self-government and at independence will have as their first obligation the maintenance of the public services which they have inherited from the authorities of the colonial past. Table 1 records the estimated recurrent expenditures of the central Government and the local authorities for the present financial year, 1962-63.

Under the present Constitution, roughly three-quarters of all public expenditure is directly undertaken by the central Government. Defence, the administration of justice, police and prisons, and the administration of the basic agricultural, veterinary and other economic services are all the concern of the central Government, operating through its central ministries, through the provincial and district commissioners, and through provincial and local representatives of the ministries in the field – often, but not always, working on the same ground-plan as that of the provincial administration.

The present functions of local government[2] are much less simply definable. Services of a purely local character, such as sanitary services, urban road works, street lighting, markets, housing and cemeteries are generally under local authority management. But for the important services of education, health, trunk and secondary roads, water supplies and to some extent forestry, the arrangements display various forms of complexity. In the first place, there exist two distinct patterns of local government, with differing statutory responsibilities: on the one hand, the municipalities, and county councils covering what have hitherto been known as the scheduled areas (that is, the settled areas); and, on the other hand, the African district councils (A.D.C's) covering the non-scheduled areas. Secondly, there are a number of *ad hoc* bodies falling outside the pattern of ordinary central or local government, and responsible for particular services which might fall within the normal spheres of government in other circumstances – and are likely to do so under the new Constitution. Thirdly, there are differences in the quality and range of services provided by local authorities nominally of the same class; the consequence, on the one hand, of the initiative and financial ability of authorities to undertake services and, on the other hand, of the judgements of past central governments as to the speed with which a policy of handing over executive and financial responsibility could be extended.

The most notable *ad hoc* bodies, from the point of view of this report, are the

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[1] The next issue of the Journal will contain the comments of the Fiscal Commission on local government finance in Kenya, which will be followed in a later issue by its proposal that a graduated personal tax should be the financial mainstay of rural local government. These brief extracts from the Report of the Fiscal Commission (Government of Kenya, 1963, 10s.) describe the administrative re-organization taking place in which the recommendations for the use of a graduated personal tax will be more clearly appreciated.

[2] For a background to local government in Kenya, the reader is referred to previous articles:-
Local Government in the African Areas of Kenya, *J.A.A.*, Vol. XII, No. 3, p. 147.
Financial Officers in the Ministry of Local Government, Kenya, *J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, No. 1; p. 11.
Training for Local Government, *J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, No. 2; p. 98.

road authority and the district and regional education boards. The road authority is essentially a central government agency and is wholly financed from central government funds. Some confusion arises, however, from the fact that it is an administrative undertaking, not an executive one. It employs other agencies to carry out its work of road construction and maintenance and these include the local authorities. Such work is distinct, however, from that undertaken by the local authorities on their own account: in particular, the work on local roads in African district council areas, which falls wholly on those councils for its financing.[3] The district and regional education boards are responsible for African primary and secondary education respectively. The district boards have some of the features of local government, but they are responsible to the central Government and, although local authorities are represented on them, no local authority is formally an education authority. Moreover, the district boards operating in municipal and county council areas are wholly financed by the central Government. But, since 1958, the African district councils have been required to provide finance to their local district boards for primary education and the central Government, which contributes proportionately to the cost, pays its subventions to the councils, for onward transmission to the boards. The regional boards are wholly financed by the central Government in all cases.

Besides those mentioned in the previous paragraph, there are at present a large number of other *ad hoc* bodies having some bearing on either central or local services. The majority of these, however, perform services requiring little or no financial support from either central or local government: for example, the marketing boards and similar organizations for crop management (coffee, tea, pyrethrum). Except for such contributions when they are made, therefore, they have no effect upon Kenya's budgetary position and we have deemed it safe, for the purposes of this report, to ignore them in all other respects.

The future pattern

The Kenya Constitutional Conference of 1962 agreed that there should be a "strong and effective central Government, responsible to the central Parliament, which would be responsible for a very wide range of activities", and that "subject to the foregoing, there should be the maximum possible decentralization of the powers of government to effective authorities capable of a life and significance of their own".[4] To this end, the Conference agreed that there should be established six[5] regional assemblies, that "a special status would be accorded to Nairobi" and that "the basic organization of local government would be entrenched in the constitution, and the regions should have a responsibility for its practical application". The Regional Boundaries Commission has since demarcated the boundaries of the six regions and of the Nairobi area and, with very small agreed modifications, the Commissioner's report[6] has been accepted by the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers has since determined the basic organization of local government and, the Nairobi area having now been defined, the Council is in process of determining the form of government appropriate to its special status.

[3] For the purpose of Table 1, the whole of the expenditure of the road authority is listed as expenditure on roads by the central Government, and the expenditure on roads recorded against the local authorities is the actual expenditure undertaken by them out of their own resources.
[4] H.M.S.O., Cmnd 1700.
[5] The number of regions has since been increased to seven.
[6] H.M.S.O., Cmnd 1899.

Parallel with the plans for a new system of public authorities, and in particular the decision to establish new regional authorities, have gone decisions as to the new pattern of powers and responsibilities. The constitutional conference agreed that the central Government should continue to have responsibility for external affairs, defence, international trade, customs, major economic development and the raising of development funds and agreed on the division between central Government and regional authorities of certain other services. Since then, the Council of Ministers has been steadily working towards the completion of the new pattern. The result is a substantial transfer of services from the central Government to the new regional authorities. The most notable

(*Continued on page* 166

TABLE 1

Recurrent expenditure of Central Government and Local Authorities, 1962-63

(£ thousand)

	Central Government	Local Authorities	Total
GENERAL SERVICES			
Administration	3,629	944	4,573
Defence	238	—	238
Law and Order	6,435	—	6,435
ECONOMIC SERVICES			
Agricultural, Veterinary and Settlement	3,340	266	3,606
Other Economic Services ...	1,081	23	1,104
COMMUNITY SERVICES			
Roads	2,109	718	2,827
Other Community Services ...	144	1,719	1,863
SOCIAL SERVICES			
Education	5,495	2,330	7,825
Health	2,070	1,412	3,482
Other Social Services	307	1,399	1,706
OTHER EXPENDITURE			
Recurrent Works	1,323	—	1,323
Other Expenditure	322	602	924
RECURRENT FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS			
Public Debt (net of interest and redemptions)	3,060	—	3,060
Pensions, Gratuities, etc. ...	3,134	—	3,134
CONTRIBUTIONS TO CAPITAL BUDGETS	—	70	70
TOTAL ...	32,687	9,483	42,170

Distribution of estimated 1962-63 recurrent expenditure between new public authorities
(£ thousand)

Head	Central Government	Nairobi Area			The Six Regions			Total – All Authorities
		Regional Functions	Local Functions	Total	Regional Authorities	Local Authorities	Total	
GENERAL SERVICES								
Administration	1,469	131	242	373	2,006	725	2,731	4,573
Defence	238	—	—	—	—	—	—	238
Law and Order	3,625	12	—	12	2,798	—	2,798	6,435
ECONOMIC SERVICES								
Agriculture, Veterinary and Settlement	1,870	8	—	8	1,462	266	1,728	3,606
Other Economic Services ...	1,029	3	—	3	49	23	72	1,104
COMMUNITY SERVICES								
Roads	1,165	32	359	391	865	406	1,271	2,827
Other Community Services ...	132	—	818	818	12	901	913	1,863
SOCIAL SERVICES								
Education	2,107	384	610	994	1,018	3,706	4,724	7,825
Health	755	107	332	439	1,154	1,134	2,288	3,482
Other Social Services	56	61	657	718	190	742	932	1,706
OTHER EXPENDITURE								
Recurrent Works	780	2	7	9	523	11	534	1,323
Other Expenditure	322	—	240	240	—	362	362	924
RECURRENT FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS								
Public Debt	3,060	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,060
Pensions, Gratuities, etc. ...	3,134	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,134
CONTRIBUTIONS TO CAPITAL BUDGETS	—	—	55	55	—	15	15	70
TOTAL EXPENDITURE ...	19,742	740	3,320	4,060	10,077	8,291	18,368	42,170

moves in terms of existing services and their costs, are in education, health, agriculture and animal husbandry. The regional assemblies and their administrations will replace the previous provincial and district administrations operated by the central Government and each authority will control a contingent of the police. In aggregate, the regional authorities may be estimated to take over from the central Government about one-third of the latter's recurrent commitments as they exist at the present time. Thus, since the six regional authorities will also be responsible for local government in their areas, they will between them become responsible for recurrent expenditure of about the same order as that remaining to the central Government after the changes. Table 2 demonstrates the broad pattern of responsibilities deriving from the new Constitution at its impact; it is not – and cannot be – a forecast of the future.

Review Articles: Local Government in Developing Countries—I

by Sir ARTHUR WEATHERHEAD

DEMOCRACY, DECENTRALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT, by Henry Maddick. *Asia Publishing House*, 1963; pp. xii + 305; 42s.

IN August 1950, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, now Sir Abubakar, Prime Minister of the Federation of Nigeria, rose to speak in the House of Assembly of the Northern Region to a motion standing in his name on the reform of native authorities. Lugard, he said, had stressed the importance of public opinion, the people themselves; whereas in practice in the past, their views had never been sought, their welfare seldom regarded, and their helplessness shockingly abused. The people must be made to realize that they too had a share in their own government. Local authorities should be delegated further responsibilities and those responsibilities should be real. Existing village and district councils lacked responsibility and guidance. District officers were changed two or three times a year. Neither the British nor the native authorities seemed to care so long as they collected their tax in time.

That speech was the prelude to a commission on native authorities; to the abolition of the dictatorial sole native authority; the establishment of a ministry of local government; a new native authority law and the many reforms which stemmed from its enactment in 1954.

Although there is little direct reference to Nigeria in the book now under review, it is in the spirit of Sir Abubakar that this study is written. "To the villager there can be no meaning, no significance in national plans and policies unless someone can translate them into actual examples locally." Local government should assure popular endorsement of policy and its execution so that "public support and effective authority converge".

The method whereby the material for this book has been amassed has been to invite a single person from each of several countries as remote as Brazil, Yugoslavia, India and the Philippines to prepare a special report based on a questionnaire. Africa is represented by Ghana and the Sudan. The author himself visited two countries in South America and two in Africa.

It might be thought that conditions in these countries would deviate so far that few generalizations could be made, and principles established would be of doubtful validity, but it must be remembered that even in a single African country no one pattern of local government can always be maintained, and conditions within it may be as remote from each other as China from Peru. The vast Kano Native Authority, with its three million people, cannot have the same system as a small pagan federation in the Middle Belt of Nigeria.

All underdeveloped countries suffer in greater or less degree from malnutrition and endemic diseases, resulting in ill-health, reduced energy and an enduring poverty. Village life is essentially traditional; illiteracy and superstition oppose change. In an animistic society individual initiative and responsibility give way to communally imposed restraints and discipline. The attempt therefore to change village life in Africa by a series of uncoordinated campaigns

Sir Arthur Weatherhead was Deputy Governor, Northern Nigeria, from 1958 to 1960.

by different ministries is likely to fail. Co-operation and co-ordination must be the basis for community development in the village, covering adult literacy, health measures, communications, improved agricultural techniques, the marketing of crops and so on.

The village, however, though its council may contain what the author calls the 'grass roots' of democracy, is not a sound basis for local government. It is too small, the views expressed are too local, it may be a prey to factions and squabbles, and the revenue which a unit of this size could raise would be frittered away on trivialities or merely absorbed by administration.

The village and district councils of the 'forties in the large emirates of Northern Nigeria failed because they were not adequately financed. No one will serve on a council where nothing can be achieved, or devise projects when nothing will be carried out. It was with the establishment of guaranteed 'district council funds' that these bodies came to life and the high degree of discretion allowed in their expenditure made the councils both popular and reasonably responsible.

The problems of such large local government bodies as are found in the Moslem Emirates of Northern Nigeria, or in Uganda, naturally find less reference in this book than the establishment of new local government bodies by the amalgamation of formerly independent village units, of small tribal groups, or of minor chieftaincies, into a single unit.

Mr. Maddick gives 60,000 to 80,000 as the minimum population for such a local government unit. There are of course many as small as this and smaller which I have known in Africa, but it is I suggest too low a figure for efficient operation and, if possible, the minimum should be 150,000. With a population below this the revenue is too meagre for the local government authority to employ qualified staff and to pay them at rates comparable with Government service. I quote from an annual report of 1957:–

> "It is a problem which all the native authorities of this Province face, that the maximum salary they can offer an elected executive committee member is never more than £300 a year and therefore anyone with secondary or higher education inevitably seeks employment with Government or commerce."

Mr. Maddick deals in detail with the difficulties of establishing and operating a new local government system the variation of ability between the different areas of a country, not merely in their financial resources; the lack of literate persons; the clash between efficiency and popular control. Longstanding grudges are carried forward into the new organization, and tribalism is a dividing influence strengthening separatist movements. The new councils have little knowledge of finance. Services are established with capital without account of the recurrent costs. There are bound to be drawbacks, defects and mistakes at first; it is the duty of the administrator or local government officer to "promote honesty, stimulate initiative and develop the wisdom of local councils and their officers," making popular control both effective and sensible, and reaching out through local government to the villages in co-operation with the decentralized field services of the ministries.

The analysis of all this is excellent. The difficulties are clearly stated, but they can be overcome. I find a parallel in a report of 1956:–

> "In the Z. federation jealousies festered. The chief of N. saw in his position as president an opportunity, in combination with the chief of O., to humiliate the smaller but older established native authority of P. These manoeuvres

nearly split the federation and delayed the establishment of the executive committee for several months. Later one tribe demanded separation, one councillor embezzled funds, and there was disagreement on the appointment of district staff. It might be thought that disintegration must inevitably follow, but oddly enough all these disputes were settled in the end and the need for reform generally accepted."

The cure for all this, as Mr. Maddick shows, lies not only in the sympathetic supervision and advice of the administrative officer but in systems of training provided by the central Government and the ministry of local government; an institute of local government providing courses for presidents, for executive committee members, for councillors, for district heads, for court members. From the same institute training teams should go out to instruct local government staff on the spot. A local government magazine, discussing current topics and problems of administration should be issued to all council members regularly.

As time passes central government interference with local government will decrease. "The detailed assistance of the first stage gives way to the more general help of the second, and finally to advice and consultation of the third, subject to check on the legality of expenditure and abuse of power." In some countries the local government law will lay down with some precision the control to be exercised for different categories of local authorities. At all stages the nature of central government grants will influence local government expenditure and efficiency.

There is no room here to refer to the arguments adduced in favour of the delegation and devolution of authority to field staff by central ministries. The stagnation and frustrations of an over-centralized system cause constant friction between local government and the centre and must inevitably lose for ministers a belief in their understanding of and sympathy for the remote rural areas. "It is the ministries with officers in the field who get most done and make the fewest mistakes" and "gentleness in dealing with rural people is to be learned only through personal contact." This is well said.

The subject matter of this book is of such importance to all interested in promoting the welfare of the underdeveloped countries, that it is sad that the writing should be marred at times by the use of an obfuscating technical jargon. Here are two examples from Chapter 4 on page 77:–

"Notwithstanding, the centre will still have to counter the gravitation of decision-making to itself."

meaning

"It remains the duty of the centre to train the man on the spot to make up his own mind."

and

"Deconcentration will be a failure if the attitude of perfectionism is adopted towards field officers."

meaning

"Delegation of authority will fail if field officers are never allowed to make a mistake."

True, Mr. Maddick, himself, often elucidates his obscurities in the next sentence, making plain at one remove what might have been said clearly in the first place. As a result definition is blurred where it should be sharp, and the style remains turgid where it should be succinct. The book is printed in India and the binding seems poor for the cost, two guineas.

Review Articles: Local Government in Developing Countries—II

by Dr. Hugh Tinker

It is necessary to recall that this survey was prepared as a report for the Division of Public Administration of a U.N. department; consequently the author was working within definite terms of reference, and his study must be assessed within its given context. Thus, my co-reviewer is perhaps a little wide of the mark in criticising Mr. Maddick for his use of technical jargon.[1] The author is writing not in English but in international public administrationese, and is compelled to give the correct recognition signals. Mr. Maddick covers a vast field in a methodical and correlated manner. Much of his material is taken from India, the Philippines, Africa north of the Sahara, Yugoslavia and (to a lesser degree) Ghana and Brazil. To readers of this *Journal*, one of the most useful functions of this survey will be to afford continual reminders that the British pattern is not the only pattern. The present reviewer gained his administrative experience under the old British Raj, where

> God made them, high or lowly,
> And order'd their estate.

What a revelation it was, therefore, to walk into the office of the Governor of a remote province in the Philippines and to find him with his arm round the shoulder of the chief of police whom he was loudly ribbing, to the evident enjoyment of a crowd of rustic petitioners who were milling all over the Governor's office.

Which is the better model: the aloof, hierarchic, British-Indian or British-African system? Or the highly personal, highly political, informal, Americo-Philippine system? The answer, of course, is that both are possible ways of dealing with similar socio-administrative problems. The recognition that there can be two or more ways of tackling a situation will, in itself, be an education to many who will read this work.

The central problem under discussion is the concentration upon economic development by the emergent countries, and the extent to which local institutions can form effective links between the central Government with its national plan for the 'take-off into sustained economic growth', and the people, upon whose response the plan will largely depend. When the state was a policeman and a tax-collector only, there was no pressing need to associate the people with the processes of government; but now that the state is heavily committed to social and economic change, and is making increasing capital investments which depend upon popular co-operation for their fulfilment, then there is a vital urgency to discover the best means whereby central government operations and local leadership can be linked together.

This theme is implicit in the title of this work, and indeed is elaborated cogently in the opening chapters. Then, somehow, it gets lost. We are plunged

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[1] It should be explained that I had the advantage of reading Sir Arthur Weatherhead's review before composing my own impressions.

into a detailed consideration of the actual working of local government institutions, and the overall purpose becomes blurred.

The people, Lord, the people;
Not thrones or crowns but men!

So the Chartist hymn writer urged. And the reader of this study may end by crying – not ministries, not committees, not budgets . . . but men! Mr. Maddick appears to recognize that he has allowed his study to be swamped by methodology when, nearing the end, he confesses: "Overshadowed, in places in this study, by the detail regarding the machinery of government and its methods of working, has been the major aim of increasing popular participation and control". However, there *is* a master-plan; and it is perfectly logical; providing it is frequently reconstructed, as it were, in the reader's mind.

As a text-book, to be utilized systematically in class in an institute of public administration, this work would probably come into its own. Read in one's armchair in haphazard gulps, it is difficult to appreciate its real merits. The observations in this review will not provide much more than a 'sample' of the contents.

First of all, Mr. Maddick considers some of the problems of 'forced' economic development, and he points out that the new systems of government based upon national planning and the national political rally or front lead to much greater centralization than ever before. He re-states the classical liberal case for local self-government: "The main argument of this book is that there is a need in society for civic consciousness and for political maturity if programmes for both the locality and the state are going to be carried through adequately with enthusiasm". He quotes approvingly the verdict of the Ford Foundation-sponsored report that "plans not accepted by the people, who alone can carry them out, are only 'paper' plans". And later "There is no doubt at all that the interest of the rural population in local affairs is wakened by the community development programmes and that these must lead, even if slowly, to a growth of interest in the way in which local government works". Reviewing the problem of reconciling the official's push towards action, and the people's pull towards inaction, he concludes "For long-term success there can be no alternative to popular participation and control".

Most of us will affirm that all this is true; but what is so deceptive about so many of the emergent countries is the contrast between the glib acceptance of the *theory* of local, popular control and a total failure to follow it up in practice. Mr. Maddick reproduces a speech by the former Prime Minister of Burma, praising the virtues of local self-government. Yet although democratization and decentralization were given statutory force in a number of measures after independence in Burma, district and municipal administration today is increasingly official-controlled, with the decisions being referred to an even higher level up the hierarchy. Indonesia provides an even more striking example of disparity between policy and practice. Democratization was the slogan from the first days of independence, but not till 1957 was a local government law put into effect: two years later, the laboriously-contrived local bodies were superseded, and guided democracy became the watchword.[2]

Mr. Maddick passes on to a detailed discussion of organization and methods. He suggests that a system of popular local government is most likely to succeed where the pre-existing superstructure of government rests upon a system of

[2] See Central Authority and Regional Autonomy in Indonesia: a Study in Local Administration, 1950-1960, by J. D. Legge, *Cornell University Press*, 1962.

local administration, and that the senior 'field' officer of the central Government can provide the bridge between the old and new systems. This, of course, is standard practice; and providing there is not a severe division of interests and intentions between the central Government and local political leadership, the transition can be made. Unfortunately, as the author later points out, local leadership is often capable only of a very narrow view of public service (and not in the emergent countries only!). He cites the example of British Guiana where local authorities see themselves as 'bands of property owners'. A middle class preoccupation with middle class interests dominates a good many local bodies, and is directed to a clear understanding of the need to hold down the rates on middle class property, with only a dim awareness of the need to raise the level of the public services for the underprivileged. Very few communities are prepared to depart from levies based on poll taxes or *octroi*[3] duties – which all pay equally, regardless of capacity to pay – towards systems of graduated taxation.

When he comes to consider the operation of local government the author explores the difficult problem of how public opinion, elected representation, and the professional administration may all be kept in balance. He refers to the peculiar position of transitional societies where traditional leaders can no longer command the support of their community or tribe. He points to the uneasy relationship which so often exists between the 'professional', the officer, and the elected members of the councils: a relationship which so often ends in the officer being domineering – or subservient – seldom as the trusted adviser which the best type of English town clerk can be. The question of 'accountability' is raised but only treated superficially. On what basis does the local community assess the record of its representative? Usually, public opinion makes its decision entirely for 'pork barrel' reasons: how much has their man managed to secure for them? If he has done well by them, they will usually not worry overmuch if he has also done well for himself. A local community which recognizes that its representative owes a duty to the whole area of the authority is rare; but the extent to which people can see further than the parish pump is a pretty accurate indicator of their political maturity.

The conditions of service of the officials form an essential element in local government efficiency, but this aspect has been little studied, even in relation to British local government. Mr. Maddick introduces us to some queer circumstances, including the country (unidentified) in which municipal offices are not open till mid-day so that the staff can earn part of their livelihood in other employment. He emphasizes the need for a 'high degree of professionalization' which is closely linked with *esprit de corps*, and he suggests that a nationwide local government service is the most hopeful method of ensuring a better standard in emergent countries. Although this may seem a contradiction in terms to some, it will recommend itself to those who have seen how, outside a few cities, local government service in Asia and Africa is so often a dead-end in which ambition and ability are turned to dust within a few disillusioning years. This reviewer stressed the importance of a proper cadre in local government, many years ago.[4] Ceylon, which has proceeded as far as any country in this respect, has been able to transfer a wide range of functions to local bodies without a falling-off in efficiency.

[3] Municipal customs duties.

[4] See Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma, by Hugh Tinker, *University of London*, 1954, pp. 340-42.

The highly professional treatment of the administrative aspects of local government (which includes an outline draft of a model local government law) is not entirely maintained when the author returns to the 'human nature' side of the equation. In chapter 8 there is an attempt at a sociological assessment; but having indicated some of the pressures which may be anticipated in an emergent country, the author is reduced largely to contemplating ideal solutions to actual problems (such as 'vigorous public reaction through the ballot box').

But it is not so easy as all that. This *Journal* may be expected to take it for granted that local government is, in itself, good. Perhaps it may be salutary to end with a few general reflections on the role of local government in the Great Society.

Local government enthusiasts tend to be panacea-pushers: like those who advocate the 'single tax' as the solution to all fiscal problems, they see in local government a universal answer to universal problems. Yet, historically, local government in the West has had only a restricted success and an even more restricted appeal. If we try to analyse the essence of the idea, we find three main ingredients.

The first is civic consciousness, or a willingness to place public amenity above private profit. This civic spirit has flowered in societies where a wealthy mercantile class nurtured an ordered, urban tradition; as in the Low Countries, in Germany, and in northern Italy. This spirit never really caught on in Britain where, from the Middle Ages, the first endeavour of the successful *bourgeois* has been to turn himself into a country gentleman. The continuity of the Western European municipal tradition is beautifully illustrated in Brussels, where the *Grande Place*, the expression of civic pride from the 16th to the 18th century is paralleled by the *Place de l'Europe*, only newly created. The almost complete absence of a British municipal tradition can be gauged by a stroll round the City of London, where the evidence of commercial greed and of civic bankruptcy is writ everywhere; in vast, glossy office blocks, in mouldering medieval churchyards and in the faltering progress of the Barbican plan.

The European municipal tradition was exported to a few cities in the United States where teutonic influence is strong; but not to many. The visitor to downtown Buffalo or Cleveland will be driven to cry "Oh God! Oh America!" But the United States has made its own unique contribution to local government: the sense of active participation. New England was created by the Independents, or Congregationalists whose system of church government rests upon the active participation of all church members. Because of these origins, local government in North America has meant not only local self-government, but also local responsibility, local action. This approach has not been entirely swallowed up in the great cities. For example, the question whether that original genius Frank Lloyd Wright should design a city hall in Madison, Wisconsin was decided not by the city council but by a referendum of all the citizens.

This spirit of participation did not survive the early 19th century in Britain: but this does not mean that there has been no original British contribution to local government. The third special ingredient was of British making; the evolution of a balance between the representatives of the public and the executive, the officials: in which both parties recognize the role of the other, and both combine in decision-making which is a blend of local sagacity and professional expertise. This subtle relationship has eluded those who control local government in the United States and in Western Europe.

A civic consciousness – the active participation of the citizens – the mutual adjustment of responsibility between councillors and officials: in these the essence of Western local government is contained. Yet, as we have seen, almost nowhere have all three desiderata been realized. What hope is there that the emergent countries will, artificially, be able to generate these qualities?

Is it even desirable that local government should be encouraged in the newly independent nations of Africa? One of the more convincing arguments for a uniparty system is that a Ghana or a Guinea just does not have the human resources to dissipate its national effort in a never-ending debate between two or more political parties. A new state such as Nyasaland or Tanganyika may, quite literally, possess only a few hundred leaders, educated, trained, disciplined, and able to implement the national will. A centralized educational system, directed by half a dozen able and dedicated professionals might be made to succeed: a decentralized system in which hordes of untrained, irresponsible, jumped-up local 'directors' are required to take fundamental decisions will be foredoomed to failure: so, many African political leaders will argue (Mr. Maddick recognizes this dilemma).

The most fundamental analysis of these problems in the context of an emergent country which this writer has seen is provided by the Indian political philosopher Jayaprakash Narayan. He argues that, whereas in the West society has become a 'fortuitous concourse of atoms' which he labels 'the atomistic or statistical democracy', in India (and, of course, in Africa) the change from the community to the individual as the basic social unit has not proceeded so far that it could not be reversed. He presents a plea for what he calls 'the communitarian society' based in the village, the neighbourhood. He would reverse the present trend towards centralization. Community development and planning must 'begin from the primary community and therefrom fan outwards'. The national plan would be compiled out of a synthesis of local plans.

Jayaprakash is logical enough to argue that if a living spirit of local government is really desired, then all the apparatus of the modern state, including the national civil service with its power and prestige, must all be disbanded. He envisages a polity somewhat akin to the cantons of Switzerland as the kind of loose federation which must emerge.

Are the champions of local government prepared, like Jayaprakash, to decentralize to the extent of dismantling the administrative ant-hills which central governments everywhere are busy pushing ever upwards and outwards? Because local government will not flourish merely as a kind of public-relations auxiliary to the central government.

Reports

REPORT OF CUSTOMARY CRIMINAL OFFENCES IN KENYA, by Eugene Cotran. *Government Printer, Nairobi*, 1962; pp. 34; 4s.

The Conference on the Future of Law in Africa, held in December, 1959-January, 1960, under the chairmanship of Lord Denning, commended the work being done by the School of Oriental and African Studies in their Restatement of African Customary Law Project which was concerned with the recording of the customary law of family, marriage and divorce, land tenure and succession. The Conference also drew attention to the difficulties attaching to the existence of unwritten customary criminal law. It was generally agreed that, as a long term objective, penal laws should be written and be generally uniformly applicable to all communities within a territory. Inspired by these recommendations, the Government of Kenya considered the desirability of setting up an organization to ascertain and restate the customary law of the tribes. "Since the recording of all customary laws (personal, civil and criminal) was a very big undertaking", explains the author of this report in his introduction, "the Kenya Government decided to make a start in co-operation with the Restatement of African Customary Law Project, with the more limited objective of ascertaining and restating the customary *criminal* offences with a view in due course to getting these written into the statutory laws of Kenya". Mr. Cotran was accordingly seconded from the School of Oriental and African Studies for this purpose and this report is the result.

The report records the method of investigation which revealed a large measure of similarity between the offences recognized as criminal between the various tribal groups, so an attempt was made to arrive at a restatement on the wider provincial basis acceptable to all districts. This was achieved with some local variations.

The main customary criminal offences concerned sexual and marital matters, removal of boundary marks and conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace. Suggestions are made for the incorporation of the customary criminal offences into the written law and for appropriate penalties.

This lucid and admirably succinct report covers new ground and is of special interest to East and Central Africa.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRAINING IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION FOR OVERSEAS COUNTRIES. *Published for the Department of Technical Co-operation by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London,*; pp. 50; 3s.

In recent years in many overseas countries, locally-born civil servants of quite short experience are coming to the top of the public service and are being confronted there with administrative problems probably even more exacting than those which used to face their predecessors. In the many countries which have attained independence and in the dependent territories which are approaching it, great efforts are being made to promote rapid educational, social and economic development.

Thousands of new administrators are being, and even more should in future be, trained to man senior positions. So great is the need for their services that,

if more training cannot be given soon, many may have to serve untrained for their whole careers. This situation calls for urgent measures for which the main initiative belongs to the overseas governments themselves, but which will also involve a good deal of external aid in many cases. Britain has long been doing much to help, but not enough in relation to the need. This situation is described, and necessary new measures to deal with it are recommended, in this report, which is the work of the Committee set up in December, 1961, under the chairmanship of Lord Bridges, by the Secretary for Technical Co-operation (Mr. Dennis Vosper) to advise him on present and future training in Britain for overseas countries in public administration and on the best way Britain can help overseas countries to build up local training facilities overseas. Training in the administrative work of many different departments or spheres of activity, such as local government administration, nationalized industries, probation and diplomatic duties, fall within the scope of the report.

Improvements and organization in Britain

While generally commending the quality and diversity of the training facilities at present available in Britain for students of public administration from the developing countries, the Committee considers that there is a need for shorter more intensive courses with a practical emphasis, similar to those held at a staff college. Most of the courses specially designed for overseas trainees, such as the Overseas Service Courses held at Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities, at present last for an academic year or more.

Furthermore, some changes are needed in the arrangements for supervising and co-ordinating the selection and allocation of trainees and the provision of training facilities, which are inadequate to meet the urgency of the present situation. An administrative training co-ordinating unit, staffed by the Department of Technical Co-operation, and an associated advisory council for public administration training and development studies – including members from unofficial bodies with interests in this field – should be formed to keep the whole range of training under constant review. Amidst the variety of courses available some overlapping and duplication of effort is inevitable, and Britain must be ready to start, adapt or end courses at shorter notice than in the past.

Help for training institutions overseas

The report declares that the provision of opportunities for training in Britain is, in the long run, the most important service that Britain can offer the developing countries. However, as a result of the present great shortage of trained administrative personnel in these countries, and of the large numbers who need training at different levels, it is difficult for some of the governments concerned to release officers for long periods of training overseas; thus, the majority, if they are to be trained at all, must be trained locally.

Help for this purpose is urgently needed; British Government funds should be made available to British universities so that they may more readily respond to requests for assistance from institutes of public administration and similar training institutions in the developing countries. The assistance may take the form of the exchange or secondment of staff; help with research problems, perhaps by awarding scholarships to young graduates; or the concluding of a sponsorship agreement between the two parties, a form of association which can bring benefit to both sides.

Among recommendations by the Committee are: that a register of British

instructors for service overseas should be compiled and maintained; that the secondment of British public servants to overseas countries for training duties should be encouraged; that further assistance should be given by the setting up of two new courses, one for the staff of overseas training institutions and the other for instructors in public administration drawn from the British public service and elsewhere, as and when they become available for secondment overseas.

There is a lack of purpose-written textbooks and other teaching aids available to training institutions overseas, and the Committee recommends that official support should be given to their production, publication and presentation to overseas libraries.

Special institution and documentation centre

The Committee recommends that the possibility should be investigated of setting up in Britain a special institution for training top-level administrators from the developing countries, and for research into the fields related to such training. The developing countries have a vital need, the Committee points out, for assistance in training the senior administrators in their public services who, often with only limited previous experience, have to plan and run complex measures aimed at achieving rapid political, economic and social advance. The special institution would not only undertake the training of such officers, but would carry out much-needed research into the problems of development with which they have to deal. It would also develop and maintain contacts with international bodies in the same field, and provide individuals and small teams of experts for consultative or pioneering work overseas.

As a matter of urgency, the Committee proposes that the possibility should be investigated of the relevant sections of the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Commonwealth Relations Office and Department of Technical Co-operation libraries being combined to form a centre of documentation to cover the developing areas of the world. The flow of official reports, parliamentary papers and so on coming to Britain from independent countries overseas is becoming increasingly uncertain, and the report stresses that prompt action should be taken to restore the position. Good documentation is an indispensable tool for study and research, and to the work of the proposed special institution.

Miscellaneous matters

The report has some recommendations to make on a number of other matters:–

The British Government should offer a guarantee, up to a named amount, against financial loss to universities and other educational institutions, when they run special courses approved by the Department of Technical Co-operation for students of public administration from the developing countries.

Visits and attachments to public and local authorities in Britain must, to realize their full potential value, be arranged very carefully and well in advance, and should whenever possible be associated with an introductory course to familiarize the visitor with British institutions and way of life.

British officials and teachers concerned with administrative training, such as home civil servants, retired overseas Civil Service officers, local government officers and university teachers, according to the particular case, should be enabled to make more frequent visits overseas so that they could confer with their counterparts in the developing countries and at the same time give

guidance on the facilities available in Britain, both as regards training courses and as regards financial and other assistance which may be given to students. The Committee recommends that the associations of local government authorities should be invited to persuade their members to be seconded overseas, alongside others from Government departments and nationalized industries, for service as instructors in practical administration.

Cost of recommendations

Towards implementing its recommendations, other than that concerning the special institution, the report suggests that £200,000 per annum should be provided in the first instance. In the case of the special institution it is suggested that, when fully developed, its yearly cost would not be less than £150,000; although it is hoped that not all of this would need to come from British Government funds.

The report points out that the officers who will benefit from these measures will have a large say in the disposal of the great amount of aid which Britain is making available in various ways to the developing countries. It should therefore be an economy to incur some relatively small new expenditure on administrative training which can be an important factor in ensuring that much larger sums of aid are used to the best advantage.

TRAINING FOR DEVELOPMENT. *Cambridge University Press*, 1963; pp. 80; copies are obtainable from the Secretary, Cambridge University Overseas Studies Committee, The Old Schools, Cambridge, for 5s. 6d. or $0.85 (postage free).

This is the report of the Conference held at Cambridge in the summer of 1962, and its conclusions cover such problems as the training of public servants for central governments, of field and local government staff, and of the people through community development, besides training for commerce and industry, the role of universities and other institutions, and the part to be played by aid from overseas. It is the record of an intensive exchange of experience between men working in the government, universities and business in many different developing countries in Africa, and projects a picture of urgent training needs which must be met if development is to succeed.

Book Reviews

AFRICAN LAND DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA, 1946-1962. *The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources, Nairobi, Kenya*, 1962; pp. xi + 312; 30s.

This publication is of absorbing interest not only to those interested in Kenya's land problems and not only to agriculturists but to everyone genuinely interested in the technical and sociological problems of the less developed areas of the tropical world. The numerous photographs are first class and speak more clearly and convincingly than words.

Kenya being a country of great agricultural contrasts, the schemes described and illustrated are very varied, covering settlement schemes, grazing control, the provision of water supplies, soil conservation and so on, in the drier and semi-arid areas, to the development of cash crops, the reallocation of land arising from land tenure reform and the introduction of exotic breeds of livestock to the areas of better rainfall and higher potential.

It is difficult to single out areas or schemes for special mention but for those who know Kenya and its problems possibly the developments which have taken place in the Southern Province and particularly in the Machakos District, are of special significance. Here the struggle has been long and hard and undoubtedly the key to success was the opportunity taken in the early 1950s to staff the area with adequate numbers of well trained, keen and devoted extension officers who lived with the people and got to know them and to be known and trusted by them.

Worthy of special mention too is the chapter on land tenure reform in the African lands, a movement which has had lasting and incalculable benefit to the development of Kenya's agricultural potential. The whole machinery and the processes involved in this most delicate of all exercises, land tenure reform, are clearly described and should be very closely studied by all countries now following, or contemplating following, the example of Kenya.

What a pity there are not more records of this kind. Britain has much to be proud of during its period as a colonial power. Men from Britain gave of their best, and a very good best it was. The story told does not bring out the difficulties and the frustrations that had to be faced, the patience that was needed, the sacrifices that had to be made or the courage and determination required; but it does tell a story of achievement and of a job well done.

G. M. RODDAN.

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE IN UGANDA: 1945-1960, by G. B. Masefield. *Stanford University, California*, 1962; pp. 37; $1.50.

Mr. Masefield moved from Uganda to Oxford at the beginning of the period he reviews. Recently he has re-visited Uganda to gather material for this paper, which "is the first of a series of studies of agricultural achievement in the countries of tropical Africa during the fifteen years following the end of World War II". These studies are being sponsored by the Food Research Institute at Stanford University using funds granted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Being the first of the series this paper is not a comparative study. Instead it

claims to be a case-study of a country representing a norm. The preliminary account of population, climate, topography, soil vegetation and game is brief, but cites a number of references for the more enquiring reader. A short history of agricultural progress from 1893 to 1945 is given. The review proper starts by asserting that in 15 years the area of cultivated land increased from 6.1 m. to 8.6 m. acres (plus 41 per cent.), and the cattle population from 2.3 m. to 3.6m (plus 56 per cent.), without any marked signs of strain appearing in the countryside. Expansion into marginal areas led inevitably to some lowering of average yields, but Mr. Masefield claims that "the most outstanding progress in agricultural practice between 1945 and 1960 was undoubtedly in soil conservation". These gratifying conclusions contrast sharply with the unease commonly expressed in official reports.

Writing of current inputs the author gives us a welcome glimpse of reality by reminding us that "the articles most universally bought by African cultivators are hoes". A small trade started in manures, composts and insecticides during the period. Capital inputs took the form of farm surveys, boreholes, reservoirs and fish-ponds, and government-supported enterprises like cattle dips, tsetse control and swamp drainage. Relatively little aid was received from outside Uganda.

Cultivated acreage increased slightly faster than human population. The coffee crop expanded sixfold in the 15 years. Sugar production doubled. Cotton receded from the coffee areas and expanded into less productive areas. But its yield was maintained by improved seed supplies, seed dressing and a modest start in the use of insecticides.

A real increase in the gross domestic product from agriculture was largely masked by falling prices. Between 1953 and 1957 the index of market prices fell from 157 to 93. Marketing arrangements are described for produce sold locally and for crops exported. During the war government was obliged to buy the cotton and coffee crops. Statutory marketing boards and price stabilization funds were set up. These orderly arrangements were a welcome contrast to the fluctuations in demand and price affecting other crops and have been continued to the present day.

The last section of the paper considers incentives to change. Urban wages rose from 33 to 80 shillings a month between 1950 and 1960, but the numbers employed in industry did not increase by 50 per cent. Consumer goods came forward in the early fifties when agricultural prices were high and living standards advanced briskly, notably in West Nile, Karamoja and Kigezi. In the more sophisticated districts money was spent on schooling, roofing materials, footwear, bicycles, bread, bottled beer and cars. Since then prices have fallen, but income has been largely maintained by increased output.

Ownership of land has been recognized in Buganda since 1900 and some other districts have started to register titles, which can be given as security for loans. Scientific research has gone forward rapidly and is now fostered by several bodies other than government departments. Important advances with cotton, cassava, maize, finger millet and cattle breeding have still to realize their full benefit in the field. Education and extension services, both strong even in 1945, have progressed still further. Schemes for development, agricultural credit and co-operation are also described.

This paper is a useful case-study for the administrator and should be of particular interest to readers of this Journal. It concludes with some stimulating reflections on the use made of by-laws in Uganda. J. D. JAMESON.

WORLD WITHOUT WANT, by Paul G. Hoffman. *Harper and Row, New York and Evanston*, 1962; pp. 144; $3.50.

This book by "The man who carried the Marshall Plan to success outlines a stirring and practical program to combat the poverty and illiteracy that enslave two-thirds of mankind and threaten explosive revolt in Africa, Asia, and Latin America". So says the blurb.

The reader will soon realize that it is a propaganda tract. This is not in itself a bad thing. After all most of the great faiths of this world have been propagated, in one way or another, by zealous believers. Here is a very simple and lucidly written account of the nature of the tragedy of the under-developed world – its poverty, its hopelessness, its stagnation – but the two-thirds of the world who live in these conditions are awakening to the fact that they need not be condemned for ever to be only hewers of wood and drawers of water without mechanical aids. Mr. Hoffman is at pains to show up the myths and what he calls 'the fables' which hamper a world-wide attack on poverty. There is a myth of the "happy native' who allegedly lives an idyllic life close to the bosom of mother earth; there is the myth of the superiority of the lighter skinned people over those with coloured skins; there is the myth about colonialism, blind to the benefits it brought in the development of roads, docks, mining, railroads, in stable government, and the awakening of the possibilities to material improvement.

The book tells in simple language the necessary ingredients for breaking through the chains of custom which hold so many in the grip of the past. It shows the need for education and training and, above all, for capital to battle with the environment. Finally, its describes the goals for the United Nations decade of development.

The book is a good little introduction to current ways of thinking, but it does not go deeper than that. It is a pity that it does not critically examine the difficulties and contradictions in the goals it advocates. It does not examine the real economic choices which have to be made if development is to be successful. After all, if this is a world-wide problem as the book suggests, then the waste of resources in any part of the world must have at least some deleterious effects on other parts. It is not helpful to give the impression that in the world as it is the rich nations have unlimited resources which can be spent higgledy-piggledy in trying to make the desert bloom anywhere someone thinks something could be planted – at someone else's expense. S. HERBERT FRANKEL.

JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES: Vol. I, No. 1, edited by David and Helen Kimble. *Cambridge University Press, March*, 1963; pp. 137; 35s. per annual volume of four parts, post free.

This new journal is to be issued quarterly. It is well printed and produced, as might be expected from the Cambridge University Press. It describes itself as a quarterly survey of politics, economics and related topics in contemporary Africa.

It has a distinguished editorial board which includes experts from the academic worlds of Britain, France, the United States, the West Indies, India and Russia as well as Africa. Such well known names as Professor W. O. Brown, Dr. Arthur Lewis, Professor I. Potekhin and Professor S. N. Varma are included.

The first number is opened by an article from Dr. Julius K. Nyerere on "A United States of Africa". Other articles are on "Taxation for Economic Development", "The Outlook for Contemporary Africa", "Land Relations in African Countries", "Towards Realism in French African Writing", and "Universities and Nation-Building in Africa". There are also notes on recent conferences and on centres of African studies, besides book reviews.

It seems that the journal will be forward looking and concern itself with current African national aspirations and problems. We wish it well.

LEGISLATURES, by K. C. Wheare. *Oxford University Press*, 1963; pp. 247; 10s. 6d.

This is a lucid description of the part played by legislatures in countries where they are of some significance, particularly Britain and the Commonwealth countries, the United States and Western Europe.

The author adopts a comparative method, drawing examples from different countries to discuss many broad themes of interest and importance, such as the relationship between the legislature and the executive, methods of influencing, working and composing legislatures and whether they are declining in power and efficiency, besides discussing their normal function of making laws. This book is not intended as a detailed guide to legislatures, but it is a valuable general guide to their purpose and place in modern politics, and provides a clear picture of their rich variety. It contains a useful bibliography.

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OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

THE IBO LAW OF PROPERTY, by S. N. C. Obi. *Butterworths, London*, 1963; pp. xix + 239; 45s.

A presentation of customary law relating to property in contemporary society, indicating where important rules have been altered by the impact of Western methods and ideas.

WHAT IS FREEDOM? edited by Eric Lucas. *Oxford University Press*, 1963; pp. 136; 6s.

This volume consists of the text of nine lectures at Makerere College, each on different aspects of freedom, such as freedom in religion and politics. It provides a basis for discussion rather than cut and dried answers.

CREOLEDOM, by Arthur T. Porter. *Oxford University Press*, 1963; pp. xii + 151; 21s.

A study of the development and social stratification of society in Freetown since 1787.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS OF NEW AND RAPIDLY GROWING TOWNS IN ASIA. *United Nations*, 1962; pp. 90; 4s.

A report of a seminar organized at the initiative of Unesco, held at New Delhi in December, 1960, with a selection of the papers presented at the seminar.

WYKSDORP: A STUDY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN VILLAGE, by Charles Southern. *Communications from the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town*, 1962; pp. 62, with appendices.

This paper describes a white community in a highveld village.

THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL ELECTION OF 1959, by K. W. J. Post. *Oxford University Press*, 1963; pp. xi + 518; 45s.

An examination of the working of a developing political system, using the federal election as a focal point.

DECENTRALIZATION FOR NATIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT. *United Nations*, 1962; pp. 246; 21s.

This comprehensive study by the United Nations identifies the principal forms of decentralization in developing countries and provides guidance on methods of dealing with the main administrative problems involved in, for example, the improvement of provincial administration, the transformation of administrative districts into local authorities and the creation of credit institutions for them.

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF GHANA, by David Kimble. *Oxford University Press*, 1963; pp. xviii + 587; 65s.

A full-scale history of the rise of Gold Coast nationalism between 1850 and 1928.

Colonial Research Publications

No. 13. Land Registration, by Sir Ernest Dowson, K.B.E., and V.L.O. Sheppard, C.B.E., (1956).
25*s.* (26*s.* 1*d.*)

No. 22. Colonial Agricultural Statistics, by K. E. Hunt, (1957).
14*s.* (14*s.* 7*d.*)

No. 24. Land in British Honduras: Report of the British Honduras Land Use Survey Team. By A. L. S. Wright, D. H. Romney, R. H. Arbuckle, V. E. Vial, (1960).
55*s.* (57*s.* 3*d.*)

No. 25. Study of the Thomson's Gazelle (Gazella thomsonii Gunther) in Tanganyika, by A. C. Brooks, (1961).
13*s.* 6*d.* (14*s.* 2*d.*)

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